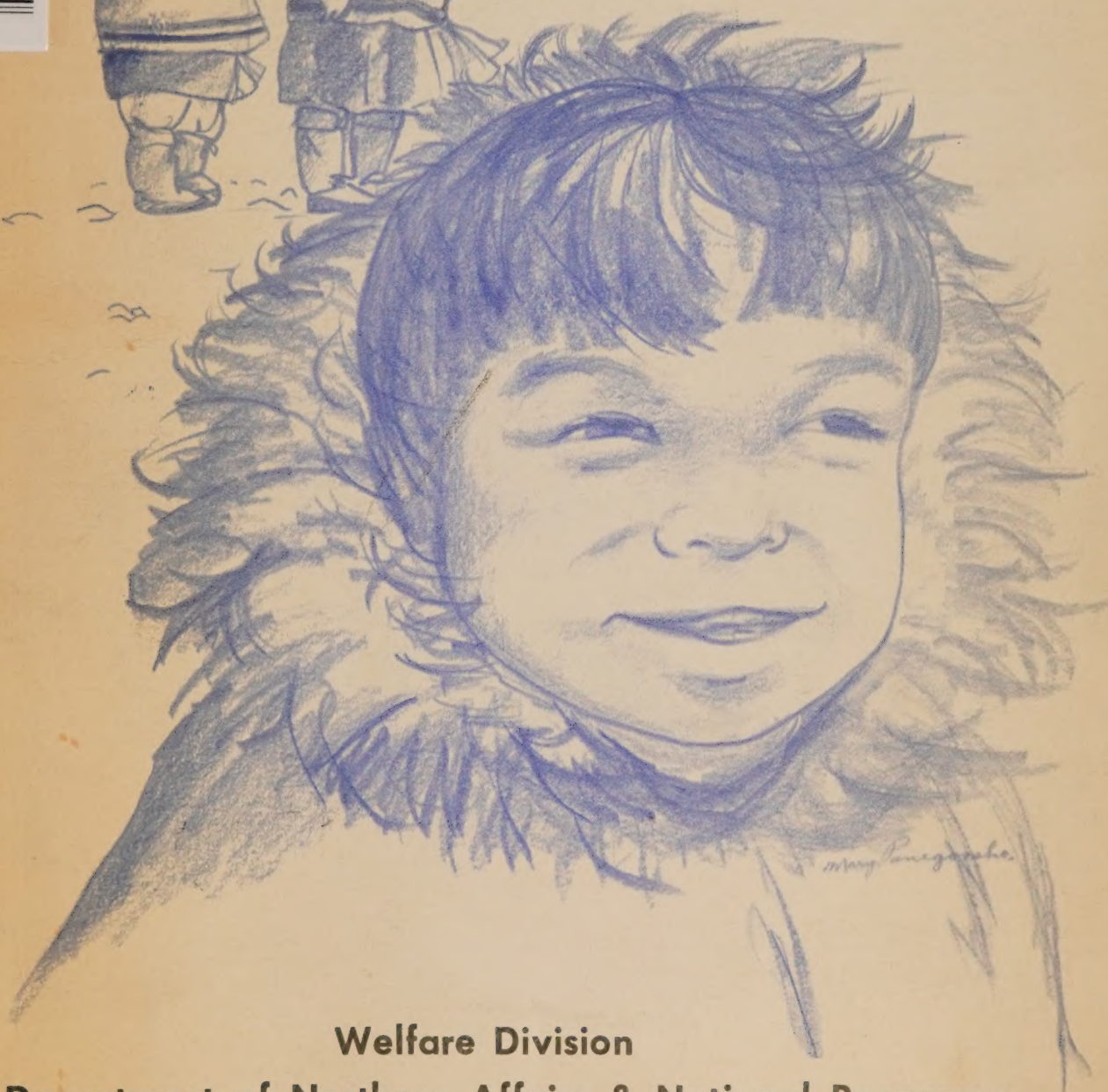
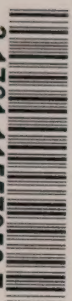



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# NORTH OF SIXTY

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Welfare Division  
Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources



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"NORTH OF SIXTY"

- A Symposium on Northern Social Work -

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## INTRODUCING THE WELFARE DIVISION

W. Rudnicki

Much of the story of the Canadian frontier already has been written under such names as Cartier, Champlain, Frobisher, and Mackenzie. Much of this story is still being written. It remains for the perspective of time to place some of today's names and events in the history books.

The tiny settlements on the St. Lawrence and the frontier towns of the old west have been replaced by the northern outposts of the present day. The spirit of the explorers and settlers of yesteryear is being kept alive today by many of the men and women who venture beyond the sixtieth parallel. The social worker can be found in the vanguard of this push northward. That this is so is perhaps a commentary on the general acceptance of humanitarian values in the twentieth century.

The Canadian north is a big frontier to tackle - even for a social worker. Its area covers more than a third of Canada - and is equal to half of the United States. In the whole of the north, there are a little over thirty-thousand people, the same number of residents that British Columbia boasted ninety years ago.

As a setting for the work of the Welfare Division, the north has both its unusual aspects and its resemblances to the better known parts of Canada. It provides the whole gamut of climatic and geographic variations and it is conspicuous for its vast distances and sparse population - a population which for the most part is in the throes of economic and social changes. At the same time, the north is today a place for families to grow and prosper. Some of the finest schools in Canada may be found in the northern settlements, modern communication and transportation has alleviated the old sense of isolation, and in many locations, the doctor or nurse is readily available for medical emergencies. The northern housewife may be living in a house provided by one of the government agencies in the north and she would enjoy many of the amenities of life which are found in southern households.

The economic development of the north is still in its early stages. A territory which contains half of Canada's mineral wealth, and untold riches in oil and gas also offers prospects of a permanent and secure livelihood for all its residents. Yet, though these expectations are realistic, they cannot be held up as the ultimate solution to the north's current human problems.

Without a basic but adequate provision of health, education and welfare service, a people starting from primitive conditions of life cannot create their own resources to overcome their handicaps and meet the demands of change successfully. It follows that social services do not only stem from economic prosperity but are needed at an earlier stage



to make economic prosperity possible. On this premise, the Department has based its policy of development. This is the basis moreover on which rests the work and efforts of the Welfare Division.

The first professional social workers arrived on the northern scene early in 1956. There followed a three-year period of intensive planning and development to meet some of the more pressing human problems. A general neglect and indifference of earlier decades (only occasionally mitigated by the efforts of the resolute few) had resulted in the accumulation of a formidable range and number of these problems. These in turn were compounded by the more recent intruding influences from the south.

Staff - including social work staff - has grown steadily since 1956 in pace with the problems, commitments and new responsibilities. With the growth of an experienced northern staff, it has been possible to devise and adapt many types of programmes to the special problems and needs of the north. These have included rehabilitation services, child care programmes, facilities for the care of the aged, medical social services, etc. At the same time, it has been possible to deal a little more effectively with what were once regarded as the routine hazards of northern living; - starvation, high infant mortality, epidemics, and the ravages of tuberculosis. In these respects, the north continues to offer more scope for preventative social work than probably any other place in Canada.

The Welfare Division was established formally at the beginning of 1959. In addition to administrative, technical and clerical staff, the Welfare Division has an establishment for twenty social workers. Revised terms of reference have set the stage for a complete integration of social work services in the north within one framework of policy and development.

A word now about the northern social worker - what kind of person is he?

The northern social worker has of course his professional training and his experience in helping people. In the face of problems that often afflict whole communities and require measures that could affect the equations of life and death, the northern social worker often has to shelve any preoccupations he may have had about "psychiatric consultation" or "intensive supervision". He has to couple his skill with ingenuity and his experience with resourcefulness to assist groups of people, as well as individuals, to meet basic needs for food and warmth - food because there are whole communities in the north who suffer from malnutrition - and warmth because many Eskimos and Indians have neither houses, stoves, fuel, or the means to make warm winter clothing. In addition, he must attempt to alleviate the disintegrating effects of social and economic change on personality and culture.

When the last Canadian frontier becomes history, there is reason to hope that the northern social worker will have made his own unique contribution both to northern development and to professional practice.



A LIFE ON THE LAND

E. Rheams

I want to tell you a story about a man and his family who didn't have enough to eat, nor a decent place to stay, nor enough clothing. Worst of all, this man couldn't find work, and it was the middle of January. For the past several years this had happened to him every winter, and he knew exactly what he must do to get help.

Ask. Just simply ask.

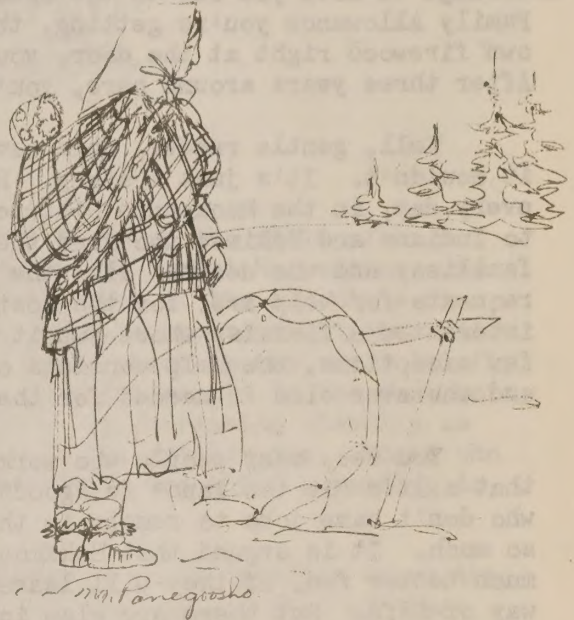
There would be, he knew, some questions to answer. Not all of them would make sense to him, but they must be important because the man he talked to would write down the answers. There would be some papers to sign, and he would pretend that he understood these too. He was absolutely certain he would get help, just as he knew he wouldn't need the help once Spring had come. He decided he could wait no longer.

He walked into the office of the Ottawa Social Service Department. You see, this man and his family lived in Ottawa.

When his turn came he told a pleasant young man all about the job-lay-off in early December, the rent not paid. He told him about running out of credit at the neighbourhood store. Some things he didn't tell him about because he knew the pleasant young man couldn't be expected to understand: the children missing school because his wife wouldn't send them without warm clothing; the small luxuries he bought on Family Allowance days. The young man wrote evenly, occasionally glancing casually through the plump file that lay on the desk before him.

Now all the asking was over.

The pleasant young official turned to him and began to speak. Firmly, almost kindly, he said, "Yes, we can help you and your family, but we are limited in what we can do, and how we can do it. And there are some things that you'll have to do to start making better use of the money you are getting. First of all, it costs so much more for you to live in Ottawa than it does in the country that we want you and your family to move from the city to the Gatineau Hills. Small, but good, cabins are available out there, and you won't have to buy fuel because there's lots of wood right handy. There are plenty of fish in the





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ivers, so you won't need a lot of meat. You won't have light, telephone or water bills. There will be no trolley fares, dry cleaning or movie expenses, nor any of these things that cost so much when you live in the city.

The official continued. The man listened.

"I know, from reading your file here, that since you came to Ottawa three years ago you have needed help every winter. It's only since you began depending on city jobs that you've had trouble making a go of it. Before that, when you and your family worked in the bush camps around Kapuskasing, you were never asking for help. As an unskilled labourer you don't stand a chance of getting steady work during the winter. We are, though, ready to help you. We can give you a month's supply of groceries and whatever camping gear you need. We'll arrange to move you out to the Gatineau Hills right away. With the Family Allowance you're getting, the fish and game you can catch, your own firewood right at the door, you and your family will live well. After three years around here, you'll be glad to get back."

Well, gentle reader, this never really happened in Ottawa. And it couldn't. It's just a story. But it has happened, and is happening every day, in the Mackenzie District of northern Canada. It is happening to Indians and Eskimos who find themselves unable to provide for their families, and who decide, like the man in Ottawa, to "ask". And their requests for help are, for the most part, heard and judged by pleasant, interested officials, whose job it is to give help to the needy. With few exceptions, the help consists of an issue of basic food supplies and whatever else is needed for the person to "go back on the land".

You see, many people who work in the North quite honestly believe that a life "on the land" is "good" and that it is not "good" for people who don't have jobs to remain in the settlements where everything costs so much. It is argued that Eskimos and Indians will be happier, and much better fed, if they will leave the settlement and resume the former way of life. But there are also in the North many others who think that the old way is no longer possible and never was, in fact, any "good". They maintain that everything must be done to accelerate the move away from the hunting-trapping-fishing economy with its inevitable sequence of famine, violence and death.

Well, this problem is pretty widely discussed down here, and few are the occasions when people gather without sooner or later exploring this issue. In the course of my travels along the Mackenzie River during the past eighteen months, I have participated in countless debates on this very subject. You see, I'm a welfare officer, and my duties take me to many settlements where I discuss with local officials the kinds of problems they are facing, and recommend ways of giving more effective help to those in need. My university training and a backlog of practical field experience make me fair game for an argument with the opinionated, while the gullible and the unwary tend to think I should have "the" answer to "the" problem. What I'd like to do now is set down for you a few thoughts I've had about a "life on the land".





I like to define a life on the land as being the state of a person who provides for his family through the direct harvesting, use and re-sale of the fish, fur and game resources of the immediate area where he and his family reside. These pursuits necessarily mean a life away from the settlements, villages or towns which he may visit briefly from time to time to obtain supplies. Very few people in the Mackenzie still live on the land, and their numbers are decreasing steadily as more and more people move permanently into the settlements. Those who now live in the settlement may be conveniently described according to their means of making a living.

The first, and smaller group consists of those families where the head of the household is steadily employed for wages. Most of these families have, in the space of one or two years, completely turned away from hunting, fishing and trapping as a way of life. This usually works out well for them, and the family members rapidly change their ideas about the kind of life they want for themselves. Certainly they experience occasional pangs of nostalgia for the "old ways", and their restlessness may become almost unbearable at those seasons of the year when traditional hunting and trapping activities are at their peak. But for the most part, these families have tasted the "new way" and are prepared to commit themselves and their children to it.

The second, and much larger group, is made up of Indian and Eskimo families in the settlement who lack steady employment, have no decent shelter, nor any of the comforts to be found in community living. They may make occasional forays out on the land to dabble in the old pursuits, but these expeditions grow progressively infrequent, and usually disappear entirely. They too, have turned their backs on the old ways, and, like their kinsmen in wage employment, are prepared to adopt the new. Lacking the necessities of life, they readily turn to relatives, friends, the

Missions or, most often, the Government. They drink, steal, gamble and lie. They make policemen callous, school teachers bitter, missionaries one-checked and administrators old. The proximity of their dirty, over-crowded shacks and their ragged, hungry children is a source of uneasiness and nausea to the itinerant Whites, who with few exceptions, live in relative opulence. They are impossible people, really.

I know that this group of people constitutes a "problem" in the Mackenzie, and I gather that similar situations prevail in other parts of the North. And this perhaps explains why from time to time the popular press describes the rather drastic solutions that are proposed by well-informed persons. These proposals range all the way from moving the Eskimos and Indians to the South (where, it is argued, they can be better cared for at less expense) to erecting barriers which will keep those without jobs from coming into the settlements. Almost anyone who has been down North knows what the problem is. I suggest to you however, that few people ponder the equally pertinent "why" of the situation, and those that do find cause for much pessimism, and reason to believe that their "solutions" are in fact, not really solutions at all. This sort of painful experience is thereupon avoided.

But let's not avoid it, just this once. Rather let me ask this question: "Why do these people remain in settlements, when they could be leading a 'good' life on the land?". I suggest to you that at the present time a life on the land is, in the eyes of most Eskimos and Indians, a back-breaking, miserable way to eke out a lonely and precarious existence. I maintain that few rational people who have once sampled the comforts of a warm home, easy access to balanced and varied foods, ready availability to doctors, hospitals and schools, frequent companionship of persons other than their immediate family, few, I say, will choose to turn their back on this new way, even if they must live in squalor to remain close to it. And the irony of the situation is that by moving into the settlement they are joining the great parade of human beings in other parts of Canada and the world who are moving into the cities and larger towns. They are, you see, becoming "civilized". Distressing, isn't it!

Well, perhaps there is some consolation to be drawn from the fact that the civilizing forces at work in the North were set in motion by the white man, are fostered and strengthened by him yet, and will continue under his sponsorship until the old way is completely gone. When the old way is gone, the rugged, isolated life on the land, a life without such amenities as schools, hospitals, and work-saving machines becomes (as it already has in much of the South) a refuge for the rich and the eccentric. And if we really do believe that the old way was, and still could be, wonderful, then surely we have been guilty of the most unfortunate kind of ignorance, to have destroyed something that was so beautiful. And who has done this? The missionary? The doctor? The teacher? The administrator? The policeman? The merchant? Surely, not these?

Yes. All of them; all of us.



When the missionary, in the name of a New God, began to preach his particular version of "the Word", and convinced Northern peoples of the absolute need for regular public worship, baptisms, marriage ceremonies, last rites, frequent confessions and communions (all of which were offered from a centrally-located church) then life on the land away from these things became less desirable.

When the doctor and the nurse, in the name of the New Medecine, started to combat tuberculosis, syphyllis, diptheria, smallpox, infant mortality, malnutrition and the numerous other scourges that daily threatened the lives of these people, and, in order to succeed, established hospitals, nursing stations and sanatoria, the attractiveness of a life on the land lost some of its attractiveness. To the people he said (and still is saying): "Get regular X rays; bring the baby here at the first sign of a cold; avoid severe chills, wet feet and fatigue; eat good foods well-prepared; keep yourself and your family clean." Do all these things my friend, but don't also try to live on the land.

When the school teacher, in the name of the New Learning, brought to the North a whole new world of sciences and arts that could be learned, written down, passed on through the medium of the classroom, and then, with the example and the support of other white men, showed the primitive that only through this kind of training could his sons take equal place in the New North, then did the life on the land become doubly despised. For now it could not be followed except at the cost of depriving his children of the new life, or of depriving himself of his children while they attended the residential schools. And because the old ways were thus doomed, it was inevitable that he must lose interest in it.

When the administrator and the policeman in the name of the New Law, with its strange and inexhaustible regulations, started to enforce the Criminal Code and the Ordinances of the Northwest Territories, and thus determined that the Eskimo and Indian was to cast his lot in with the other citizens of Canada, then the primitive inherited a whole new set of standards that were feasible only if one followed the new way. The laws that now became more sacred than his own had already vanquished a thousand other cultures, just as surely as they would his. At best the old ways would last another generation or two. But they didn't.

The merchant, you see, had many years earlier decreed the shape of things to come. In his many guises as fur-trader, whaler or boot-lagger he had taught the northern peoples to develop new tastes and encouraged them in the pursuits (particularly fur trapping) that would allow them to indulge these tastes. When this happened the old way of life lost an essential quality, without which it could not survive: self-sufficiency. At this very point, the northern peoples committed themselves and their descendants to inexorable, progressive dependence on the New Way.

Gentle reader, wherever you may live, "the new way", as you can observe it around you, in the Canadian North, in other parts of the civilized world, does not and cannot allow the cabin or the igloo or the uncooked meat.

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It is quite often explained to me that the real reason people cluster around settlements is that they are "lazy", and would sooner live on meagre handouts than go back on the land where the living can be so good. Perhaps some people would sooner choose semi-starvation and abject misery than put forth the effort they know will bring themselves financial ease, but I prefer to think that the Indian and Eskimo lives as he does in the settlement because he is a victim of forces neither he nor his detractors understand. I like to think this because it spares me the need to revile and castigate all the white people in Ottawa, Vancouver, Regina and Winnipeg who require assistance every year. I cannot bear to think that they are "lazy", and that sloth has been able to thus undermine such a patently superior race as our own!

But surely, you ask, a life on the land has some advantages? For the very few families still on the land it will, for this generation at least, be a good way of life, not so much because of its material returns, but because for them it is the only way to live freely. For a few families it may continue to be a source of limited supplementary income while they remain around the settlement hoping for a chance at the new way. For some others it will be sporadically attempted because it offers cultural solace to a people still rooted in dreams of the old way. But for the rest there is no real choice: they cannot go back.

Now you may be wondering what all this has to do with the story I told you earlier about the Ottawa man and his family. Well, I have tried to show you that the civilizing forces that were unleashed in the Canadian North have created problems similar to those that are experienced elsewhere whenever people break away from a traditional way of life. The "good" things, as we know them, (hospitals, schools, churches, etc.) have been extended at great expense, and surely no Canadian begrudges the cost. But the cost has not only been in dollars.

The Indian and Eskimo has seen and believed in the new ways and wants desperately to share fully in them. But this cannot, and will not come about until we are ready to admit our own responsibility for what has happened and, more significantly, ready to pay the price for having "civilized" (and I use the word carefully) these people.

If all this is true, the implications for future development of our human resources are many. We must start the maddeningly slow process of re-building a life to replace the one we have destroyed. We must bring to the emerging cultures of the North the benefit of the new technology which can very easily make fur, fish and game harvesting an economic venture. Through proper training in handling and processing land products, through group or co-operative exploitation and marketing, the land can once more sustain many of the people. But more than any of these things, we must not force upon a weakened, despised and dispersed group of people a way of life that can no longer work. Because, you see, I believe that people fully acquire new ways only insofar as they can fully share in the new and, just as importantly, freely discard the old.



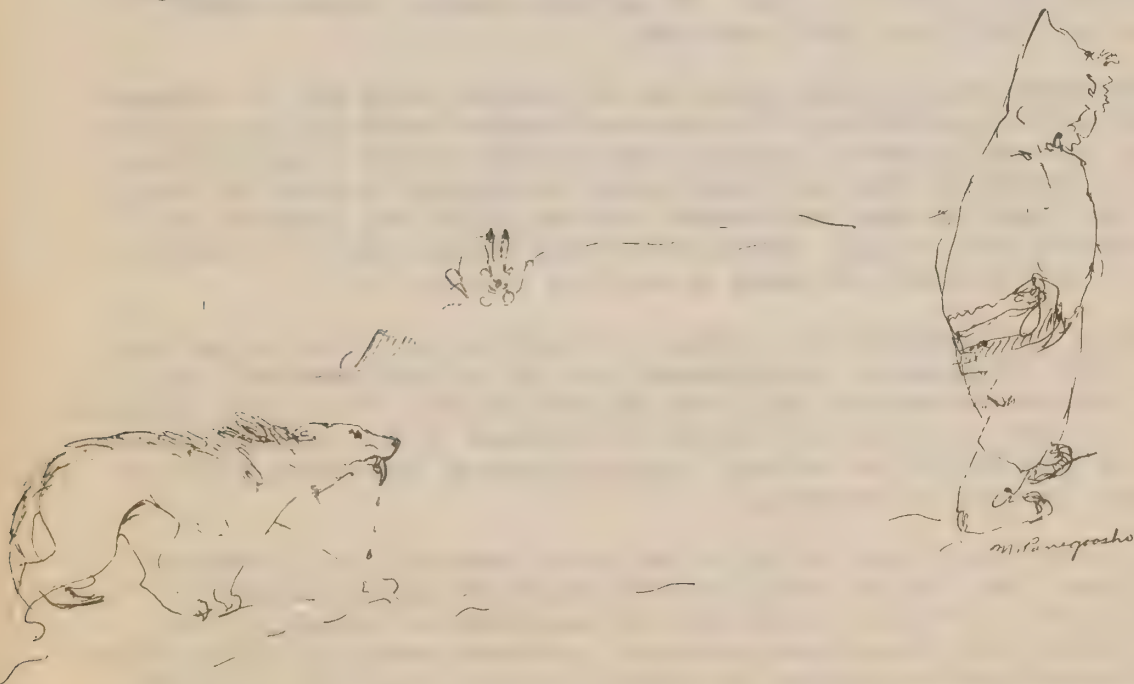
A DIAGNOSIS - "WOLVES & RABBITS"

N. Hefler

Saa lived in a foster-home arranged by his mother before her death, and did not do well there. He ate there some of the time, and slept there some of the time, when he could not find anywhere else to eat or sleep. He attended school irregularly, was always in trouble, stole and was destructive. His foster-mother said he would end up "in the house of the policeman" and many people agreed with her. He was the village outcast at ten years of age. This was the problem as presented to the social worker upon his arrival in an Arctic community.

The results of the investigation and subsequent handling of the situation reveals some of the difficulties, and some of the satisfactions of doing social work in a setting much different from that in which most Canadian social workers operate.

When Saa was very young, his father died, and his mother remarried. Saa got along well with his step-father, and was upset when his step-father had to go south for treatment of T.B. During the time his step-father was in the south his mother died. Before her death she asked a couple to take Saa. They agreed, for Eskimos respect a dying friend's request.



Saa did not adjust well and was never accepted in his new home. He stayed away from home whenever he could find a place to eat and sleep, lied, stole, stayed away from school, and was always in trouble. His foster-mother rejected him, and although she allowed him to eat there told him he could expect nothing else. His foster-father told him, "You and I are not good for each other, and will never get along". Most social workers would describe the situation as acting-out behaviour resulting from insecurity and rejection, but a diagnosis without a treatment plan was not much use to the child, and devising a treatment plan was not easy.

The social worker tried to establish a working relationship with Saa, but met with little success. Saa did not speak English and the worker did not speak Eskimo. The worker tried working through an interpreter, but this is not a very satisfactory arrangement at best. The worker was new to the community, and did not know or have the support of the local people. There was also the problem of trying to do social work when many people involved thought the social worker would either have a talk with the boy and clear everything up, or else lay down the law and make him behave in a more acceptable way.

One solution would be to place Saa in a foster-home where he could be understood and accepted. This was not easy in a small settlement where everyone knew everyone else, and people hesitated to get mixed up in someone else's troubles. Who would take a boy who was always in trouble? Who would take a child whose foster-parents had been chosen by his dead mother? How did this white man hope to succeed when the police and the teacher had failed?

Maybe Joseph, his step-father would take the boy. Joseph did not have a wife, or a house or a job. He and his daughter shared a shack with another family who didn't want Saa.

The worker found a house and a job for Joseph, so he and his teenage daughter could care for Saa. The move was discussed with the boy's foster-parents, and they agreed it would be best for him to move in with Joseph. No one was convinced this move would change everything at once, but they hoped there would be some improvement, and Saa would feel accepted and his behaviour would change. Saa moved in with Joseph, and for a while it looked as if everything was going to work out alright.

Things went smoothly for a while, and then the boy began to get into trouble with a vengeance. A conference with the police, teachers, and others involved was called, and a new solution sought. The worker mentioned that he thought there was more behind the attitude of the community toward the child than was on the surface. Everyone agreed, but no one could put his finger on what was happening.

A chance remark made by one of the Eskimo members of the community gave a clue. Saa, the man said, had "the spirit of wolves and rabbits." An investigation showed this was some unknown aspect of Shamanism, the old and undercovered, though not forgotten, spiritual aspect of Eskimo belief. Further investigation convinced the worker that Saa would not find acceptance in any community as long as he had the spirit of wolves and rabbits.



Does one have "wolves and rabbits" because of his behaviour, or is his behaviour caused by "wolves and rabbits", or both? Do "wolves and rabbits" stay with a person, or do they leave him when he moves?

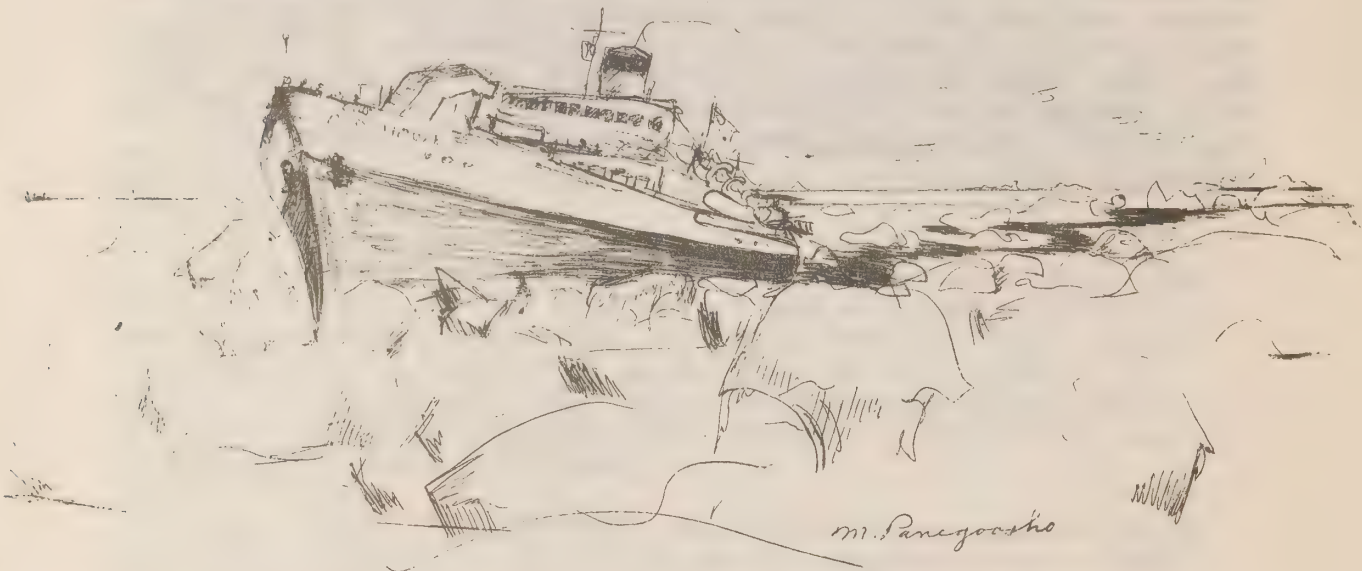
A foster-home was found in a camp outside a different community. Saa now lives with a family who have accepted him as a son. He has lost the "wolves and rabbits", or else has used them to advantage for he is now a valued member of the community and is fast becoming a good hunter and trapper.

The absolute rejection of Saa by members of the former community has not recurred in the new community, even though news travels between the two locations easily. Simple environmental manipulation seems to have alleviated the problem in this particular instance. To this extent the social worker experienced the satisfaction of a job well done. Yet, as he pondered on what the Eskimos had told him - or perhaps had not told him, he felt there was much about his client he did not understand. Perhaps in time.....

## LONG JOURNEY

B. M. Marwood

On July 4th, the government ship, "C.D. Howe", will set out from Quebec City on its tenth patrol of the Eastern Arctic. During a three month cruise, the ship will cover over twelve thousand miles and drop anchor at forty-one settlements and outlying camps. Its most southerly stopping point will be at Churchill on Hudson's Bay and the most northerly at Grise Fiord on Ellesmere Island, around seven hundred miles beyond the arctic circle.



On this voyage, almost three thousand Eskimos will be given medical examinations, dental care and medications. About ninety of these will have to leave their families and friends and embark on a long journey to southern hospitals. The journey is not completed till they return home, months or in a few instances, years later. The initial separation, absence and return create many problems for patients and their families. For this reason, a social worker is present during the Patrol as a member of the medical team.

With the exception of welfare staff, the remaining members of the team are all employees of Indian & Northern Health Services of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The team consists of a senior medical officer, treatment medical officer, radiologist, dentist, X-Ray technician and assistant, two nurses, and three nursing assistants (two of whom are also interpreters). The welfare component of the team consists of a social worker, an assistant and an interpreter.

The social worker is concerned not only with the welfare of the patient but also the welfare of his family. It is she who informs the patient and his family of his need for treatment and that this can only be provided by evacuation to a hospital in the south. The social worker helps him, as best she can through an interpreter, to accept this and then helps him plan for the care of his family during his absence.

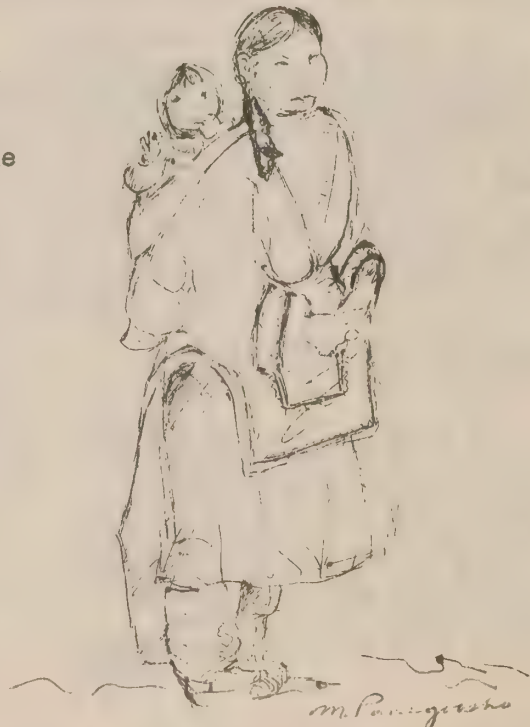


If the patient is a child the social worker's job is comparatively easy although it is not easy for the parents to give their child into the care of strangers particularly when they know that their child is being taken thousands of miles away. The parents know that they may not see their child for one or two years. If it is a young child, they know he will probably have forgotten them when he returns. Dealing with parents' reactions in this situation is one of the jobs of the Social Worker on the Patrol.

When the patient is a father, the social worker arranges for assistance to his family. A hunter must always be found who can provide fresh meat for the family. As meat is the main staple of the Eskimo diet this is very important. On occasions families have had to be moved to other camps or settlements where there are relatives to help care for them.

If it is the mother who has to be evacuated, the social worker may have to find foster homes for the children. Perhaps there is a grandmother or sister or sister-in-law who can care for them. When a foster home has to be found, it is often difficult to find one that will meet the children's needs adequately.

On a number of occasions, a healthy baby has to be evacuated with the sick mother because the infant is not weaned and there is no one else to provide the necessary care. Bottle feeding is still a new idea to many Eskimos and, in addition, there is the practical problem of preparing a formula on a primus stove or over a seal oil lamp. Eskimo mothers are very fearful about placing their children in the care of strange Eskimos. Perhaps this is because traditionally in times of starvation it was the foster child who had the lowest priority in the chain of survival. Perhaps this is why an Eskimo mother will more readily give her child into the care of a strange white woman who as a rule is not faced with the basic problem of survival.



Many Eskimos have been left handicapped as a result of tuberculosis or other diseases and accidents. They then have to be helped to learn a new way of life. During the patrol, the Social Worker discusses these problems with the parents or families. She may also obtain consent from a father for a handicapped son or daughter to take special training for a new job.

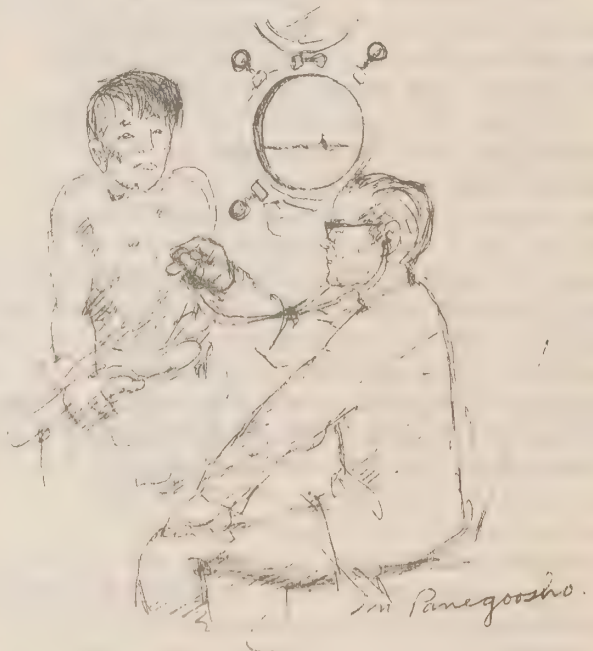
During the patrol, the Social Worker checks on the adjustment of ex-patients, particularly the ones where we have had some doubt about their ability to return to their old way of life. Many have made the adjustment, others have found the life too hard and want to consider some alternative. The problems and opportunities are discussed with the people at this time.

The Social Worker on the Eastern Arctic Patrol frequently acts as consultant to the people who are handling welfare matters in the settlements. This may be a Northern Service Officer, an R.C.M.P. officer, a Missionary, a nurse or a Hudson's Bay Company manager.

In addition to alleviating many problems arising out of the hospitalization of Eskimos, the Social Worker performs an invaluable service in keeping separated members of families in touch with each other. She brings taped messages, pictures and progress reports from the hospitals. Pictures are taken of all the patients in hospital prior to the sailing of the ship and these are distributed to the relatives. Pictures of the relatives and taped messages are made on board ship to be taken out to patients. Sometimes the Social Worker is the bearer of sad news if the patient is not getting better or not likely to get better.

The Social Worker's assistant is responsible for the entertainment and handicraft programme for the Eskimo patients who are on board. Eskimos who are being moved from one area to another under government auspices often travel on the C.D. Howe. The Social Worker and her assistant are responsible to see that they get on and off safely and are cared for while on board.

To date the Eastern Arctic Patrol has the only medical survey team which includes a Social Worker. It is hoped that some day in the not too distant future there will be a Medical Social Worker on all of the medical surveys which are carried on, by air, in other areas of the north.



After the Patrol is completed, the Social Worker returns to her office in Ottawa but spends a good deal of her time visiting the various hospitals to which Eskimos have been admitted. The main treatment centres for the Eastern Arctic are in Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec.



On these trips to the hospitals, and sometimes working through social agencies that might be available locally, the Social Worker attempts to alleviate the anxiety and helplessness that many patients experience in hospital. Patients worry about their families in the north, especially if the family has been deprived of its provider. Mothers who have left small children behind are concerned that the father may not be able to fulfil his responsibilities as a hunter while at the same time attempting the necessary sewing, cooking and other household chores. Husbands and wives may be separated a few months or a number of years and, as in a wartime experience, new liaisons may develop and former marriages dissolve.

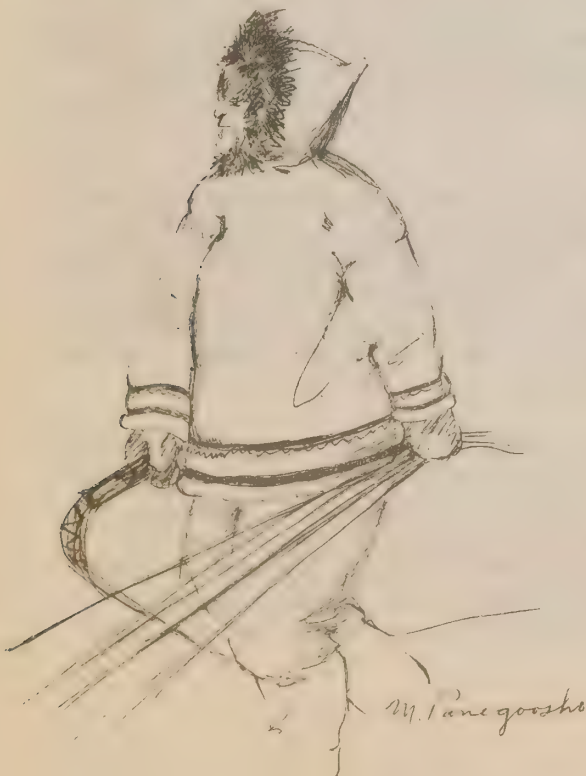
Any child who has spent two, three or more years in hospital during his formative years faces a tremendous adjustment when he leaves. How much greater is the adjustment for an Eskimo child who has spent these years in a hospital run by a people of a different culture, in an environment which is completely foreign to him. Combine this with complete separation from his parents and family and no Social Worker needs to be told what to expect. Many of these children become seriously disturbed.

These are only a few of the many problems faced by these people as a result of illness.

During the hospital visits the Social Worker assists with discharge planning and acts as a consultant on adjustment problems in the hospital. Wherever possible arrangements are made with local agencies to provide continuity to needed casework services. This is however, limited by the lack of qualified interpreters. Every effort is made to see that relatives in the north and patients in hospital receive reports about each other throughout the year through the medium of personal correspondence, photographs and tape recording messages.

Provision is made to insure that each patient returning to the north is suitably outfitted with northern clothing, including an arctic sleeping bag for ex-tubercular patients and others who have spent a long time in hospital. Arrangements are made to see that, when needed, financial assistance is given after discharge.

To facilitate admission and discharge of patients from southern hospitals, transit centres have been built at the main transportation centres in the north. These centres enable the patients to spend their convalescence in adequate shelter in the north in an environment more closely like



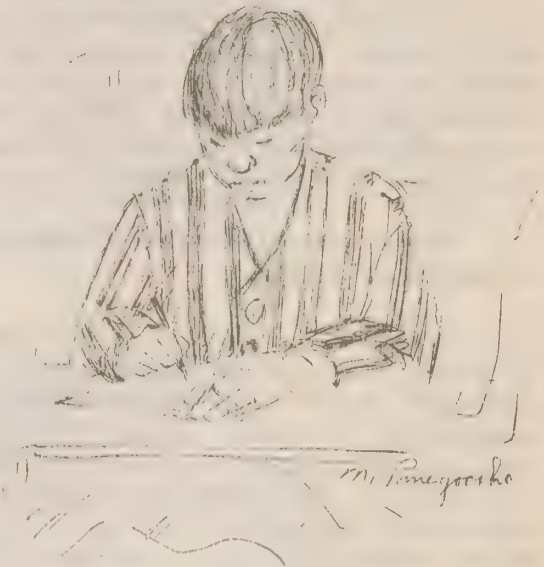
that of their home. Many wait there for transportation to points beyond these centres, rather than remain for an extended period in the hospital.

One of the main forms of communication with Eskimos in hospital is by letters. Because of language difficulties most Eskimos cannot discuss their problems with medical staff. Patients write to the Social Worker in Ottawa where their letters are translated and their problems identified. By this means medical treatment is sometimes facilitated and many other problems are brought to the Social Worker's attention. Following is an example of such a letter:

To Mary from Kiyuk of Arctic Bay

(Name and location disguised)

I wrote to my wife on March 23rd. I am writing about this because I know now about my wife. When the Social Worker was here she wanted to know where my wife was staying. At that time I did not know but I know now that she is staying with her brother. She wrote to me that she has been spitting blood from her lungs and having trouble with her back. Right now she is staying with her brother and her parents. My wife's brother is the only hunter in the family because my wife's father's eyes are bad and he is weak because of his old age. Also my wife's brother cannot go out hunting on a stormy day because he has been spitting blood from his lungs. My wife said that her brother did not travel for long distances by dog team this winter because of his lungs and a pain in his back.



While I am in the hospital and staying in bed for a long time I keep thinking about my family and I don't want to stay here for a long time. I wish that I could go home by boat next summer because my wife's brother might have to go out to the hospital. He has bad lungs and I guess he will be going out for treatment. Since I heard about my wife's brother, I started to worry about him and my family. Because he is the only hunter in the camp. I don't know what they will do now.

My wife gets rations every once in awhile but it is very little and there are many people in our family, I guess because it is made out only for her. I don't like to be away from them like this and I know they need help very badly. My father-in-law is getting old and he has bad eyes, can't see very well, so he can't help much. My wife's brother is the only person that can take care of his family now and we have so many children. Also they use a lot of food to eat. They often run out



of food too. This is what my wife was saying in her letter. It is very difficult for her to stay in a family like this. I am very worried about them when they do not get along well, because nearly everybody is ill. Also I do not want them left behind if they are in a poor condition. I want to go home very badly. I feel the same way as if you would want me to stay in hospital very badly. The reason for wanting to go home is because I want to take care of my family. Also I heard they didn't get enough fox this winter. My wife's rations are the only white man's food they have. I don't like to be away from them like this. Even though you want us to go out to hospital same thing I want to go home very much as you want me to stay in hospital very much. I would like to go home to help my family. I would like to know if I can go home this coming summer. Please write and let me know about this. My name is very easy to remember. Kiyuk from Arctic Bay but I am now at Hamilton, Ontario.

When you write please write understandably. We live only by game and we have to hunt, looking for food for living in our country. We live only by eating the animals. But we cannot just go out and get food we have to look for it but it's not easy either. That is why I am worried about my family and my wife's brother who has bad lungs. The seal meat is the most important. If we do not have seal meat we do not know what to eat.

I just received the letters from my wife and from her brother. I want to answer my wife as soon as possible. If I cannot go home now I don't know if I can wait or not. I want you to agree with me. I love my wife and my children very much. I would like to know when I will be well enough to go home. I hate to stay in hospital because I don't feel sick at all. When you were visiting us last winter, remember you asked about my family but I said to you that I did not worry about them. Because I did not know what was going on at home I said this. Right now I know all about them because they wrote to me and I am very worried. It is not good if my family are all hungry and I feel I shouldn't have left them behind like this. I keep thinking about them and I don't want to stay away in hospital for a long time. This year they had a bad year. our home area did not have enough game. My wife still has a father but because he is old he is not much help for hunting.

I wonder if I still have to be taken care of by the doctors. I want you to write to me, I hope that you understand what I mean as you always want us to understand what you say. I am very glad to get letters from Social Workers. Tell your bosses what I would like very much to hear.

Good bye

Kiyuk.

## REHABILITATION - NORTHERN VERSION

P. Murdoch

Panigak had been in an Ontario sanatorium for eight years. During this time, he had one lung removed and several operations on his spine. Panigak was not expected to live and, when he did, the most optimistic medical opinion was that he would have to remain in hospital indefinitely because there seemed to be no possibility that he could survive the rigours of a life based on hunting and trapping. Panigak's wife died during his absence in hospital and his two young daughters went to live with relatives.

In 1956, when one of the first surveys was conducted to determine the rehabilitation needs of Eskimo patients, around thirty chronic cases were discovered in various eastern hospitals in circumstances similar to that of Panigak. A few others were receiving little more than custodial care in Manitoba and Alberta. Included in this chronic group were heads of households who could never hope to return to their families again, mothers of young children whose families had been broken up during their absence and placed with relatives and friends, and even young children who had completely forgotten about their origins with the passing years.

The desperate family circumstances of many handicapped patients occasionally had precipitated their discharge to homes in the north - often against the better judgment of the doctors. Some had to return to hospital in a few months with their tubercular condition reactivated; others were forced to accept an unproductive existence on relief, and a few succumbed to impossible physical demands on their weakened bodies.

In considering the type of rehabilitation service needed to meet these problems, it was necessary to take into account many factors unique to the northern setting. There were cultural and language difficulties that had to be bridged. The fact that most Eskimo adults had never had been to a school seemed to narrow the choice of vocational possibilities even further. The problem of low educational levels seemed compounded moreover by an undiversified northern economy which appeared to offer little scope for specialization. Finally, the absence of many kinds of special community services that complement rehabilitation programmes in the south seemed to suggest that northern rehabilitation would have to be very broad and comprehensive in scope if it was to be effective.

For awhile, the possibility was entertained of employing existing rehabilitation facilities in the various provinces to assist handicapped Eskimos. However, except in exceptional cases, this approach had to be ruled out as impractical. Rehabilitation in the south would have meant that only one member of a family - the former patient - would be assisted, while dependents and relatives remained unaffected. There was the risk that many patients would not be able to accept continued separation from their families in the cause of rehabilitation. There was the added danger



that those who did accept rehabilitation services would in time find a serious cultural schism between themselves and their families. The possibility was not overlooked moreover that, in being left out of the rehabilitation process, the family in the long run could negate the value of rehabilitation.

In deciding against rehabilitation in the south for Eskimos, it was necessary to meet what seemed like equally serious arguments against a rehabilitation programme in the north. An attempt was made to do this by conceiving a programme which would not only meet the physical rehabilitation needs of patients, but would also take into account problems affecting the rehabilitation process itself at the cultural, social and economic levels. By the winter of 1957, a modest beginning was made by launching a pilot rehabilitation programme at Frobisher Bay on Baffin Island.

In physical lay-out the Centre is very similar in appearance to any small village. Former patients who come to the Centre are reunited with their families and, during the remainder of their stay, live as family units in one or two bedroom houses or duplexes. Single persons live in small dormitories. In addition to accommodation, the Centre consists of various workshops, a dining room and kitchen, office buildings, a bath-house and laundry, and other facilities.



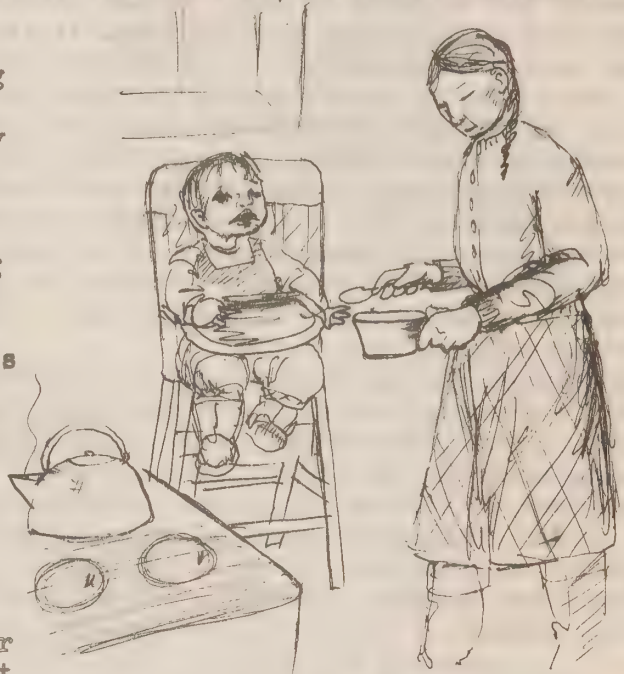
The Rehabilitation Centre is staffed by a Superintendent, business manager, workshop supervisor, handicrafts manager, a programme director and clerical help. After two years of operation, it has been possible to place Eskimos in half the staff positions, including the positions of programme director and handicrafts manager. The shift to an Eskimo-operated rehabilitation programme has been far more rapid than was originally thought possible.

At the present time, the Rehabilitation Centre provides a wide range of remedial and preventative services ranging from long-term sheltered care for the severely handicapped to assisting Eskimos resident in the Centre and in many outlying communities to improve their lot in as many possible ways as can be devised. A programme conducted in the Centre is intended to introduce Eskimos to the unfamiliar demands of wage employment and housekeeping in something larger than the former igloo. Members of the family receive instruction in the preparation

of store-bought foods, nutritional values, child care, budgeting, the use of modern appliances etc. The potential wage earner, who usually has been accustomed to measuring time by the seasons is introduced to a routine comparable to what he will find on any job. When such a family leave the Rehabilitation Centre after three to six months, they are usually able to fit into one of the growing northern communities as a wage-earning family without experiencing the more severe adjustment problems and failures. At this point, "graduates" from the Frobisher Bay Rehabilitation Centre have one of the best employment records in the north.

Direct placement in wage employment is only one method of returning Eskimos to a productive life. Other residents of the Centre who show special vocational talent may be referred for formal training in the south. It is interesting to note that at this stage of the rehabilitation process, many of the Eskimos are sufficiently motivated to be prepared to leave their families again for varying periods to take training in one of the trades.

At this point in the north's development, wage employment is not the main answer to the need for a livelihood for Eskimos admitted to the Centre. The Centre not only has to plan for the needs of resident Eskimos - an average of sixty at any given time - but also provide needed services to persons who may never have been in hospital and are not admitted to the Centre. This broader focus has been made necessary to avoid the possibility of discrimination in favour of former tubercular patients and against Eskimos who have no disability but who, in having chosen wage employment, need as much help in making the necessary transition.

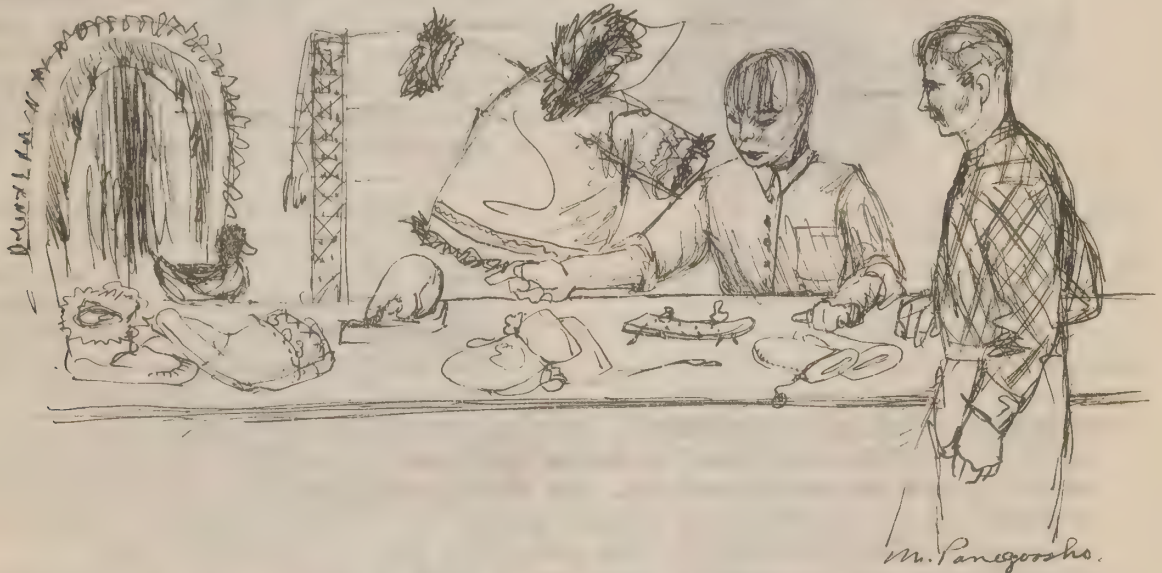


The Rehabilitation Centre therefore has fulfilled an increasingly important role in community development, and in this sense, has gone beyond rehabilitation in its narrower interpretation. One feature of this role is a group of Eskimo-operated businesses which not only has created an added resource for persons needing rehabilitation but has done much to diversify the economy in the expanding northern community of Frobisher Bay.

At the present time, Frobisher Bay has under Eskimo management a barber shop, bakery, two handicrafts outlets, movie theatre, organized hunting, and a clothing factory. In addition, a house construction project, a furniture factory and a large laundry employ an average of thirty Eskimos. Additional projects are in the planning stage.



All these small businesses start under the direct auspices of the Rehabilitation Centre. During the first stages of the operation the projects are evaluated on the basis of their economic feasibility and in terms of the ability of participating Eskimos to master the many details. Experience so far has shown that an Eskimo does not need a formal education to learn the rudiments of book-keeping (in his own language) and the simple principles of marketing. The barber shop and movie theatre - both highly successful projects - are just now in the process of being cut loose entirely from the Rehabilitation Centre. Other businesses will follow a similar course within the next year. The process involves establishing the Eskimo entrepreneur as an independent business-man under a loan arrangement or, a group of Eskimos on a co-operative basis. At this later stage of development, the Centre calls in consultants from the Industrial Division, including co-operative officers, to carry some of these projects through to find fruition.



Another aspect of the Centre's function which could be classed as community development is the growth of cottage industries based on handicrafts. With the establishment of handicrafts outlets at Frobisher Bay (and more recently one at Churchill), it soon became evident that the residents of the Centre could not hope to keep production up with public demand. At the same time it became clear that there were many Eskimos highly skilled in handicrafts living in all of the outlying settlements who were having difficulty marketing their work. Some of these potential producers frequently needed relief. The Rehabilitation Centre tried to meet this problem by organizing a purchase system in the various settlements which made it possible for Eskimo producers to sell their handicrafts for cash as soon as they were completed. A close survey of standards and quality was maintained by the Centre's handicrafts manager. From these various sources, handicrafts have come to Frobisher - by air and ship - and have found ready markets through the Centre's outlets. Production and sales have expanded gradually and it is estimated that this year, they may reach as high as \$150,000 for the eastern arctic alone.





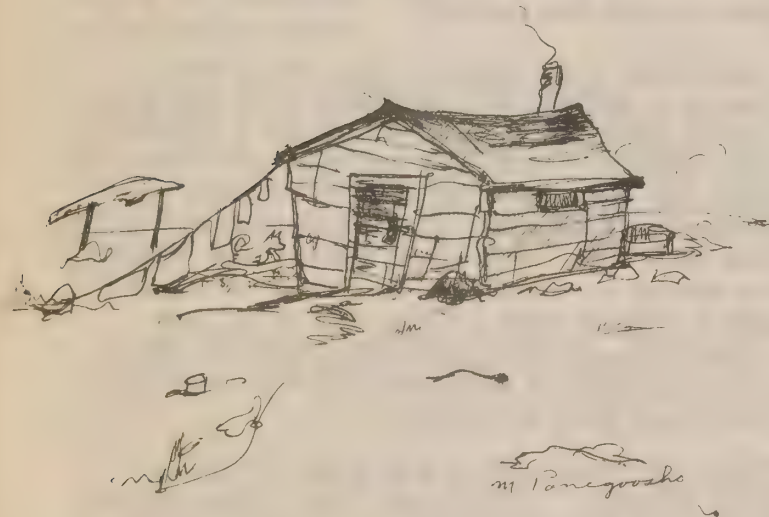
## HOUSING, DIET AND IMPROVISATION

P. Harrison

J. Newcomb

More and more camp Eskimos, attracted by the possibility of wage employment and the amenities of town life, are coming to live in the larger northern settlements. There are no adequate supplies available to them to build proper houses. With what they can obtain - scraps of lumber, packing cases etc. they put together the only type of home to which they are accustomed - one room similar to a snow-house in construction, with a bed-shelf occupying one-half of the space and the remainder being utility space.

At best, this improvised house provides some shelter and at worst, it is becoming a much more dangerous way of life for the Eskimos than their chilly snow-house. A snow-house lasted a few weeks or months only, and then the family moved into a freshly made structure. Too, it was necessary to use little heat - and the seal-oil lamps proved adequate for the purpose. If anyone upset the lamp - an unlikely occurrence - the blaze would quickly be extinguished on the snow floor.



Apart from the unsanitary conditions of some of the present homes (and actually it is amazing how clean many of them are) - they lack lavatories, food storage and cleaning facilities; there are many things being incorporated in them which are undesirable. The Eskimo village of Ekaluit near the growing town of Frobisher Bay is a good example of improvised Eskimo homes.

Only one home in Ekaluit uses a seal-oil lamp for heat. This one has two large seal-oil lamps, one on either side of the room. The lamps hang from the ceiling over a raised area which provides a sort of shelf about eight inches above the floor, on which items of food and clothing are kept dry and clean. Surprisingly enough, this house is warm and dry.

Many other houses depend on a primus stove, a coleman camp stove, a wood burning "stove" (usually a small barrel or drum with holes cut into it for a door and a stove-pipe) or regular oil burning stoves or space heaters.

The primus stove is quite hopeless for winter heating purposes and besides, gives off so many fumes that life is uncomfortable as well as unhealthy.

The coleman stove is somewhat better than a primus but it has an open flame. It has been the cause of burns to children and is a fire hazard.

The wood and oil burning stoves provide the best heat - often far too much in the tiny houses, making them suffocatingly hot. If anything went "wrong" with one of these stoves there would be little chance of saving lives as the stove sits usually near the one and only exit and none of these houses contains a second exit or any windows.

Several homes use gas lanterns for lighting purposes. These are safe if handled properly but more and more homes are becoming "wired" for electricity. Eskimo householders do much of their own wiring from scrounged materials and in some instances, both the materials and workmanship are faulty.

The majority of homes have no real windows, and those that have any source of natural light at all, get it from an opening over the door made out of plastic or some similar transparent material.

The main design of these homes is naturally copied from that with which the Eskimos are most familiar - the snow-house. In many respects this is practical and in a way, serves the purpose.

However, for permanent dwellings - and that is what these are, compared to the short-term use of a snow-house - in which more and more permanent accoutrements are being added, the construction is a menace to life. One enters the structure through a small, outer "porch". This is generally a narrow passage used for storing fresh meat and hides. The door is often so small it is necessary to enter by crouching down. A second low door opens into the main room. Sometimes two or more families live in one house, and then a second or third room may be added, nearly always accessible only through a similar hole in the wall which can scarcely be called a door. Some form of heating unit is usually set up in each room but as each succeeding room is that much further away from the one and only exit, the danger of fire increases.

The materials used in building these houses are also, of course, the very worst in terms of fire hazards. Match-stick dry, light packing cases, card-board, canvas, tar-paper and newspaper combine to make homes which burn to the ground in minutes if an accident occurs. Cans of gasoline and barrels of oil leaning against the wall or stored under the bed add to the danger. Adult Eskimos are prolific smokers.

There are no lavatories and no garbage disposal in Ekaluit. Water trucks make weekly trips to the village and all people come down to it with a variety of tins, kettles, and pails which they tug over the rocks and uphill to their houses. During the winter, it is a wonder how the women - generally with babies on their backs - ever manage to arrive at their houses with any water left in their open containers at all, after struggling against a screaming wind. If she has a sleigh, several containers can be hauled at once, otherwise more than one trip is required



and even then the supply of water in the home for drinking, washing and laundry must be hopelessly inadequate.

Housing represents one aspect of the problem that has its repercussions in a high infant mortality, low resistance to tuberculosis and frequent colds and pneumonia. The other aspect, which is probably of equal importance, is diet.

The changing way of life of the Eskimos seems to bring with it a high incidence of malnutrition.

When living entirely, or almost entirely, upon fresh meat and fish, the Eskimos had an adequate diet. As long as food was plentiful, diet was governed simply by hunger and satisfaction of hunger. As more and more Eskimos engage in full-time employment, they become more and more dependent upon store-bought foods. They have money and in general the local food supply is plentiful. Still, malnutrition exists.

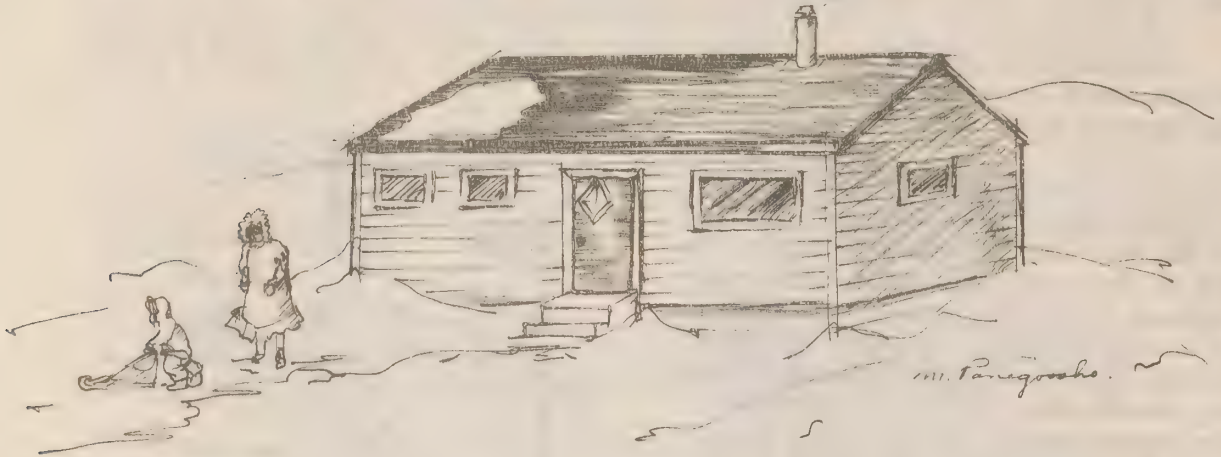


Lack of knowledge of what foods to buy for a well-balanced diet is probably one of the main reasons for this problem. This is coupled with unfamiliarity on how to prepare store-bought foods in an appetizing way. The result is that many Eskimos are eating insufficiently or only one or two things - often bannock and tea. They long for fresh meat which is not easily obtainable for a wage employed Eskimo.

Another contributing factor to malnutrition may be the lack of experience many Eskimos have in handling money. As funds run low before the end of the month, diet may suffer accordingly. A final factor which needs to be taken into account is the custom of many Eskimo mothers to feed bottle-fed babies at very irregular intervals. Bottle feeding has become quite prevalent because of the numerous infants being raised by adoptive parents - or relatives while the real mother is in a tuberculosis sanatorium.

There are many villages such as Ekaluit in the north and measures are needed to correct housing and diet deficiencies that exist in most of them. The northern social worker is often in the forefront in identifying these problems, evaluating the impact that they have on people's health and productivity, and recommending programmes designed to improve conditions. Much remains to be done in this respect, but beginnings have been made at Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet, Whale Cove (a new Eskimo settlement based on a hunting economy) and other locations.

One interim answer to the problem of adequate shelter is a low-cost plywood unit known as the "rigid-frame house". It is small by southern standards (the area ranges from 256 square feet to 384 square feet), but is far superior to the snow-house or shack improvised from packing crates and cardboard. This type of house seems to meet the needs of Eskimos who need shelter but who cannot afford the expense of heating and maintaining a larger house.



(It can cost as much as \$150. a month for oil to heat a house 600 square feet in area). Last year, one hundred of these houses were introduced by the Department in various settlements in the north, twenty of these being built under the auspices of the Frobisher Bay Rehabilitation Centre. Some of these homes are purchased outright by Eskimos; others are obtained on a rental-purchase plan. The Welfare Division arranges to provide a number of these houses free of charge to widows with children and families ravaged by tuberculosis.

In the Mackenzie Delta, arrangements are underway to provide housing in another way. Unlike the Eastern Arctic, the Mackenzie Delta is forested and can supply much of the building material for Eskimo and Indian homes. Last winter, under the supervision of staff of the Inuvik Rehabilitation Centre, a self-help logging project was launched. This programme served a double purpose: it provided wage employment during a particularly poor trapping season and reduced relief costs by around 60%; and it produced 200,000 linear feet of spruce timber. This effort was achieved by men, dogs, and hand tools and has provided the material for approximately one hundred houses.

Some Eskimos who have steady wage employment and live in one of the large administrative centres in the north have already achieved a far higher standard of housing than the rigid-frame-unit of the Eastern Arctic or the log cabin of the Mackenzie Delta. At Churchill, fifteen families are housed in spacious two and three bedroom pan-abode houses. At Frobisher Bay, a number of families have been fortunate enough to obtain two bedroom houses or apartments. For the most part, however, the transition from snow-houses and tents will be to the small, low-cost house which represents a compromise between the need for adequate shelter and the need



to keep heating and maintenance costs within the Eskimos' means.

The problem of diet is being met at some locations through the efforts of the public health nurse, teacher and social worker. The programme is not yet fully crystallized or applied generally, but the need for concerted effort in this field are becoming increasingly more evident.

At Frobisher Bay, the public health nurse is giving pre-natal lectures to expectant mothers and child care problems in the home are receiving increasing attention. The Rehabilitation Centre has introduced cooking classes for Eskimo women in the community, the emphasis being on the selection and preparation of foods available in the local store. Another aspect of the rehabilitation programme is concerned with introducing Eskimo families to concepts of budgeting and saving. The Eskimo people have proved to be eager and willing to gain this new knowledge and to apply it.

Warmth and food constitute basic human needs. In seeking to meet these needs, directly and by working with other agencies in the north, the social worker is doing much to prevent many of the tragedies resulting from sickness, hospitalization or premature death.

## CASEWORK IN AN IGLOO

F.J. Neville

### Introduction

The following commentary is a simple and very limited attempt to look at Inuk, the Eskimo, as a person with a problem; and to try to determine why and how basic casework principles can and must be adapted to meet his situation. In the attempt, I have only been able to scratch the surface and in so doing I hope I have not done Inuk or casework a disservice.

The three years of research and practical field experience behind the commentary took place among Eskimos in the Eastern and Central Arctic and more especially in the Keewatin District. The points made have been made with these groups of people in mind, but I believe they would also be valid by and large, when applied to Eskimos in the Western Arctic. Although Eskimos do differ from area to area, they still possess, as a total group, a common and fairly well-defined cultural heritage.

For the most part I have talked in the commentary about casework principles in theory and in practice. I have not gone to any length to explain or even re-define these principles. For the sake of brevity as well as of relevancy, I have had to assume that the reader understands them.

From time to time I have introduced actual cases. This was not done with a view to demonstrating the casework process, but rather to highlight certain points having reference to particular principles. I think it is important to remember this so that the reader does not feel frustrated at being allowed to see only part of the picture.

Wherever possible I have also tried to relate my observations about casework in this particular setting to the more conventional casework settings in the south. I feel this tends to bring to life our common belief in the generic content of social casework. I had hoped too, however, that it would throw more light onto the cultural content of the human personality and of all human behaviour and the significance which this has for the further development of social casework.





## BASIC CASEWORK PRINCIPLES

I have always found it difficult to academically examine and deal with each of the basic casework principles as separate metaphysical abstracts and to arrange them in some kind of logical sequence of importance. For example, it is not easy to talk about "acceptance" or the "non-judgmental attitude" without also talking about "the right to self-determination", or about "self-awareness". This is an understandable state of affairs however, because while they are indeed separate metaphysical abstracts they are also vitally inter-related and interwoven in concrete human behaviour.

One has to start somewhere, however, and I think perhaps it is "self-awareness" that can most easily be separated out and recognized as the first and most fundamental of the principles. Self-awareness is knowledge, of the most basic order, upon which the other principles are founded. Using this line of reasoning then, we might say that self-awareness permits acceptance and the non-judgmental attitude; which in turn permits the relationship, which helps the client to direct himself toward adjustment or remedial change. If my logic here is open to question, I can always claim author's licence and say that for our purposes this sequence is good enough. In any event, as Mr. K. would say, this is how we are going to proceed.

## SELF-AWARENESS

Not long ago, at Rankin Inlet, I talked with a young Eskimo man and his wife, from the interior of Keewatin. To preserve anonymity, I will call him Kadluk, a name which is about as common among Caribou Eskimos as Smith is among Anglo-Saxons. He was married and had two small children.

Kadluk had moved to Rankin six months before, in search of more opportunities - opportunities for wage employment, better housing, a more stable supply of food; in short, he came in search of a better life.

A few years ago he had been hospitalized in a sanatorium in the south for treatment of T.B. for a period of about eleven months. During that time he underwent surgery and he was not what we would call a strong person. His wife did not have good health either and she suffered periodically from rheumatic pain. Her condition made it difficult for her to walk long distances. The children, when I knew them, seemed healthy enough.

All their lives prior to coming to Rankin, and excepting that period of Kadluk's hospitalization, these young people had lived more or less in the traditional manner of the Caribou Eskimo. They had followed the caribou in the spring and summer and early fall over miles of mosquito-infested tundra, in the heart of the Barren Lands. Kadluk had trapped the white fox through the long dark and bitterly cold months of late fall and winter; for a few weeks each summer he had stevedored at the Post during the period of re-supply.

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Their home had always been a tent from late spring through early fall and a snow house the rest of the year.

As long as the caribou could be found and slaughtered - and as long as Kadluk was healthy enough to do this, the family ate simply but well and were warmly clothed. In years when a few men and women in New York or Paris decided that foxes would be worth money, Kadluk and his wife were able to buy a better rifle or sewing machine and a little extra tobacco and gum and tea and flour.

In recent years, when the caribou could no longer be found in large numbers, hunger and privation and occasionally starvation have been frequent visitors to Kadluk and others like him.

When he and his wife moved to Rankin last winter with some of their friends, they indeed found a better life. They lived in a wooden house for the first time. It was not large by any standards but it was warm and dry against the pitiless Keewatin winter. Kadluk found a job with a mining company and in return received more money than he knew what to do with, although he did not manage to save any.

For him and his wife and family there was no more endless walking in search of phantom caribou; no more eternities huddled behind a snow block jiggling for a few elusive fish; no more dripping igloos, nor sickness without medical attention, nor death without the solace of friends.

Kadluk came to talk to me in May when the sun had rolled back the darkness and the last real blizzard had coughed itself to death. We talked about many things and he told me about the Eskimo love of the land, his love for his land far away in the lonely interior. And finally we came to the point of our conversation and he told me that he wanted to return to the interior with his wife and family, to resume his life there. We talked about this at considerable length and from every angle, but it remained his ultimate decision. I want to conclude the story on this note.

There is a fundamental significance to this story, which should not be missed because it sets the tone to much of what we will consider henceforth. The point is not the wisdom or lack of wisdom in Kadluk's decision, nor whether I was accepting or non-judgmental, nor whether I recognized his right to self-determination. Its real significance lies in the very way in which the story itself was presented by the writer and interpreted by the reader and the essential meaning which this holds for me and you and Kadluk. Let me explain this further.

A note of impending tragedy, of irrationality, of contradiction and of heroism is inescapably written into my account of this situation. For some of us the case may stimulate sensations of pity, maybe even of tremendous sadness; and perhaps it conjures up too, a little of that old familiar sensation called surprise. If Kadluk had written or told this story, the story of his life on the land and his experiences at Rankin, he would have done so very differently. He would most certainly not see his life and his actions and his decisions as heroic or tragic or



irrational. Everything about the way in which I related this case, including even my passing reference to Kadluk's extravagance and improvidence, reflects my own perception of reality, the reality with which my culture has provided me, the reality of "western"man.

I want to define "culture" as simply as possible before we go any further so that we will clearly understand how it is used here and the vital relationship which exists between it, the perception of reality, and principle of self-awareness.

Culture is not simply a collection of traits and acts and artifacts, existing in some state of abstraction. The friendly smile, the igloo, the caribou hunt, raw meat, do not constitute Eskimo culture. These things are no more than outward manifestations of a culture. Kluckhohn and Kelly define culture simply and clearly enough for our purposes as:

"a historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living, which tend to be shared by all or specifically designated members of the group". -1.

In this definition it is the term "designs for living" which perhaps best describes the essence of culture, which gives it its true and full meaning and distinguishes it from brute society. Implicit in culture, as it is defined here, is an evolving, socially transmitted, orderly, intelligent way of life - a way of life which is complete and intelligent in the strictest sense of the term. The process by which a human being adapts to his culture and learns to fulfill the function of his status and role is called enculturation. In the enculturation process what the individual really learns is an organized pattern of behaving and functioning which he abstracts from and applies to daily life situations as they arise.

This understanding of culture, as a concept, is necessarily related to our consideration of the principle of "self-awareness", because implicit in "culture" and the "enculturation process" is the corollary that culture conditions, to a large extent, the individual's perception of reality. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that in a restricted but nevertheless real sense the worlds in which two different cultural systems live are distinct worlds, and not merely the same world with different labels attached. It is the very grasp of this reality, the reality of Kadluk's world and my own world, which we are concerned with, in discussing the principle of self-awareness

In the way of a specific observation then, I would say that:

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- 1. Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Kelly, William, 1945. "The Concept of Culture". In Linton, Ralph (ed.), The Science of Man in the World Crisis, pp. 76-106. New York. Columbin University Press

In work with the Eskimo, self-awareness must be broadened as a concept to include an awareness of the cultural self, the self as a product of cultural conditioning.

In the more conventional social work settings in the south self-awareness can quite often manage to remain a concept of fairly limited proportions. Let me give you two hypothetical situations to explain what I mean.

A Canadian-born, city-bred social worker, dealing with a Canadian-born, city-bred couple in marital conflict, has no particular need to reflect on cultural patterns in his own or in his clients' background in practising or in consciously activating this attitude called "self-awareness". Nor are cultural patterns as such likely to be important clue to the worker's understanding of the dynamics of this situation. The worker and his clients, here, share a common cultural heritage which is mutually understood and appreciated.

If we change this hypothetical situation by substituting "a Sicilian-born, country-bred, couple in marital conflict" in place of the "Canadian-born, city-bred, couple in marital conflict", a significant factor has been added. Cultural patterns in the clients' background become an important consideration in the worker's understanding of the dynamics of the situation. Cultural patterns in the worker's own background also become an important factor in his achievement of the kind of awareness he will need to preserve and practice the "non-judgmental attitude", for example.

In the latter hypothetical situation, knowledge of the "cultural" self, the self as the product of cultural conditioning, should become very much a part of the concept of the self-awareness. There is only a difference of degree here too between this situation and that of Kadluk.

There is a general principle here which seems to follow and which I think should apply right across the board - namely that:

self-awareness, as a concept, must be broadened to include the cultural element in human behaviour, especially where there are differences in the cultural background of worker and client.



## ACCEPTANCE AND THE NON-JUDGMENTAL ATTITUDE

I want to preface my remarks about the adaptation of these attitudes to work with the Eskimo by a brief consideration of the



essential purpose of social casework itself - i.e., to bring about self-change on the part of the client. As we proceed I think my reason for doing so will become clearer.

Self-change, especially where and because it involves the uprooting of personal values and learned familiar patterns of behaviour, is always a painful and traumatic experience. Pain, in the healthy personality, conjures up resistance and hostility. Basically, this reaction is just another expression of the fundamental drive for self-preservation. The "change" involved threatens the integrity of the "self", as seen and understood vaguely or lucidly, consciously or sub-consciously, in whole or in part, by the self. Psychiatric medicine and social work were quick to recognize this and to develop skills and techniques to cushion and to handle resistance and to transmute it into positive action on the part of the patient or client. "Acceptance", and "the non-judgmental attitude" are good examples of this.

Imposed-change (as opposed to self-change) may also involve the uprooting of personal values and habitual ways of behaving. It is often a more painful experience, because it robs the individual of the freedom of choice in the matter of his change. Here again we have the elements of resistance and hostility just as in self-change. When society imprisons or otherwise limits the freedom of the criminal offender, it imposes change upon him. Inevitably there is a resistance to this change. As an individual he may at times act out this resistance and hostility through personal revolt against the prison authority. As a member of a group, he may join in the group's expression of resistance by participating in a prison riot.

Resistance and hostility, at the individual level as well as at the group level, follow certain learned or habitual patterns as directed by personal experience and the experience of the broader group. Mr. Castro and his followers, for example, are "conditioned" to express resistance and resentment over the changes imposed upon them, through physical violence. Ghandi and his followers, on the other hand, were "conditioned" to favour passive techniques.

In the North today many changes are being imposed on the Eskimo and his way of life, directly and indirectly, by "western civilization" as a whole. In the eyes of "western" man these changes may be good or for the better. But they do constitute the phenomenon of "imposed" change. If we admit that the Eskimo is a man with integrity, with a thought and value world all his own, then we have to admit and take for granted that he is enduring pain and that there is resistance to and resentment over this. The wonderful Eskimo smile, his apparent readiness to be directed and "moulded" and to imitate what he sees around him, should not be taken to mean that he does not feel the pain of self-change and imposed-change or that there is no resistance or hostility in him.

I may seem to have gone to great lengths in this preamble, but there is an important point in all of this. If it is missed one can only see half or maybe even less of the picture. The point is that in the case-work situation with the Eskimo only part of the hostility which the

worker encounters is that normally associated with self-change. The other part which is often impossible to measure is that which derives from the change which western culture is imposing directly and indirectly on the Eskimo and his way of life. Sometimes this hostility is expressed consciously and it may be even personalized. At other times the Eskimo client may hardly be aware of it or he may express it on a more impersonal basis. The worker has to be aware of this and must try to sort it out some way or other if the client's behaviour is to have any rational meaning at all. I mention this because it is very much related to the principle of "acceptance" and "the non-judgment attitude."

Fifteen winters ago a gaunt hungry ghost called Starvation stalked a small group of primitive and very isolated inland Eskimos in the Keewatin District. Before it was trampled to death by the caribou migration of the following spring, it had claimed the lives of many Eskimos in the group.

A little Eskimo girl about six years of age, and her brother, about five years older, survived the starvation of their parents when they were snatched up by a white trapper and taken to his cabin further south.

Again, for the sake of anonymity because we are dealing with a very small number of people, I will call the little girl Manie and the little boy Aloot.

Aloot, as a young lad of ten or eleven, was just old enough to be lonely and discontented in his new "white" home. He soon remedied this however by acquiring a small team of mangy dogs and setting out on his own to rejoin the group - which amazingly enough he managed to do although it involved a journey of well over two hundred miles.

Manie remained in the white man's home or with friends of his for the next fifteen years. During this period she gained a knowledge of the language and customs of the white man and of course, in turn, lost her own language and customs. She had no contact at all during this period with her brother or other members of her group.

As so often happens to youth the world over who have forgotten or never known their own parents, Manie began as a young girl of fourteen or fifteen to "search" for her parents. She knew of course that they had perished during that terrible winter long ago.

The history of this "search" in itself is very interesting from a purely clinical point of view. Unfortunately I will have to pass over most of this because it is not exactly relevant. Perhaps I will say simply that dynamically, Manie had in her search substituted her brother and the other members of her group for her parents. Her drive to rejoin them was essentially and finally tied up with her own evolutionary philosophy of personal integrity.

Manie's search ended in one sense in the winter of 1958-59. After a good deal of interpretation on both sides (i.e. - to Manie and her



brother and relatives), she was brought North for a visit with her brother and the group. This of course was meant to be a "sorting out" period for her and the others. To say that this was considered advisable before any permanent decisions were made, would be a gross understatement. Manie was by this time a relatively sophisticated young lady of twenty who had never been north of the tree-line since the age of five, and who had quite forgotten what it was to be Eskimo. Aloom and his group on the other hand, except for a few external changes, had remained pretty much what they were before - the most primitive group of Eskimos on this continent; a group whose social behaviour was, in many respects, unintelligible to all but a few outsiders.

The idea of a free-wheeling sorting-out period for Manie and the group was a perfect example of "western" man's tendency to project his own "reality", his own sense of values and ways of looking at things onto another "reality", and then to be surprised when the two do not coincide.

Once Aloom and his group had accepted Manie and the reality of her return, it could not comprehend the idea that she was still "free" to choose between remaining with them or going away again. As far as the group was concerned, it was the group itself (and the principals within it) and not Manie, which would make this decision.

In a very short time, her life was like a thread in the fibre of the group. A labyrinthine maze of complex relationships was thrown up almost overnight. A marriage agreement was soon worked out for her by her brother and the parents of one of the young eligible men of the group. Manie was delighted with this.



In the spring of the year she was married to this young man, whom I shall call Timila. Personally as the caseworker, I had great misgiving about the marriage because of the timing and because it was obvious to me that Manie could still not appreciate how this would affect her position with the group, or in fact, her whole life.

The marriage did indeed mark the end of one phase in this story and the beginning of a new phase. In many respects the new phase was about as dramatic - and as traumatic, as the first.

The honeymoon, spent for the most part with Timila's family, was soon over and Manie settled down to the daily tasks of being a wife. But this did not mean a "wife" in her understanding of the term, but rather in Timila's understanding of the term - a wife to a husband whose language she still did not understand, and whose ways and customs

were quite incomprehensible to her. Timila on his part also seemed to quickly settle down to the business of proving to himself and to his wife and to the group, that this young woman was or could be a "wife" in the group's understanding of the term.

I will not go into details here as to the form that this "making-over" process took, except to say that the pressure on Manie to conform to the patterns of the group were tremendous.

About three months after the marriage, the group as a whole moved out of the larger established Eskimo community to a hunting and fishing camp, about sixty miles away.

This move in itself had nothing to do with Manie but it held a great deal of significance and symbolism for the group. It marked the resumption of the old group patterns of behaviour, patterns which it had superficially abandoned because of social pressure while it was part of the larger established community.

Timila began to take most of his meals in his mother's tent instead of in Manie's tent and to pursue the hunt with more gusto than ever. This was customary to some extent but there was a certain element of retaliation here too, which could not be measured but which meant in essence "at last I have you on my own grounds". This indeed was the case because there was no white man within sixty miles who could "interfere". This situation, and the fact that Manie could not speak Eskimo or make herself understood, just about sealed her off completely.

This story goes on and on, but I need not go any further, to emphasize the point we are immediately concerned with.

It is relatively easy to academically isolate Manie and her situation, to think of her for the moment as a young girl, an Eskimo in appearance only; and then to consider acceptance and the non-judgmental attitude, as they apply in her case. When one knows a little more about her earlier life experiences it is not difficult to understand the dynamics of her search, the driving motivations that impelled her to do what she did, and the fact that she stuck by her decisions, although in so doing she would appear to have acted unreasonably. In short, because it is within the realm of our own professional and cultural experience to appreciate these things, it is easier to be accepting and non-judgmental in one's dealings with Manie. The hostility which she expressed in the interview situation does not present any particular challenge either.

When we begin to isolate Timila in the same way however, something rubs, and that "something" has to do mainly with the fact that we cannot so readily accept and be non-judgmental about behaviour or attitudes which we cannot fully understand. This is particularly true where the behaviour seems, for all intents and purposes, to be at variance with something as basic as our own traditional concepts of "good and right reason".

In Timila's case it was not possible either to always distinguish one type of resentment or hostility from the other. It is the group in this instance, as well as Timila, which provided the key, as I think I have made clear in the story. In summary then:



acceptance and the non-judgment attitude as they apply in this setting often means that the worker accepts, without being judgmental, attitudes and values and customs not only different from his own, but quite outside the realm of his own cultural experience and understanding. It means too that he has to learn to understand and to cope with not just the usual hostility around self-change, but that too which is peculiar to a group immersed in a situation of imposed cultural change.

#### THE USE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

The relationship in the social casework sense of the term implies more than a knowledge of the client as a unique individual with a unique problem, located in a cultural context and highly influenced by this cultural world. This is still mere knowledge. The relationship also implies the ability, on the part of the worker, to transmute this knowledge through applied skills and techniques - and attitudes, into vital positive action on the part of the client.

The vital content of the casework relationship of course implies by its very nature "communication" between worker and client. The more direct the communication, the greater the "personal" quality of the relationship. This is so generally true that it may be axiomatic but it is worth spelling out and developing in the present context because there are some real communication problems in work with the Eskimo which do affect the casework relationship.

Communication between two people can be established very quickly and in any number of ways, depending upon the ability of the two to give out and receive mutually understood symbols, and upon the elasticity of the physical and psychic media separating the two. Generally speaking however, and for our purposes, we could say that communication, in a restricted sense of the term, can be achieved through verbal and non-verbal means.

In much of social work practice and particularly in the establishment of the casework relationship with a hearing speaking client, the spoken word as a means of communication is not only quite essential but also the normal method of proceeding. I don't think we have to belabour this point. If the client hears he expects to hear words; if he speaks, he expects to express himself and his problems and his attitudes through words that will be understood. The Eskimo client is no different in this respect. Ideally, he naturally expects communication in his own language. The appreciation of this situation in itself should be an incentive to learn the Eskimo language. There is yet another incentive however which has a more scientific basis, namely that we learn to understand a culture through understanding its language. This point should perhaps be developed a bit, because there are certain implications to it, that may not be readily apparent and which cannot really be ignored.

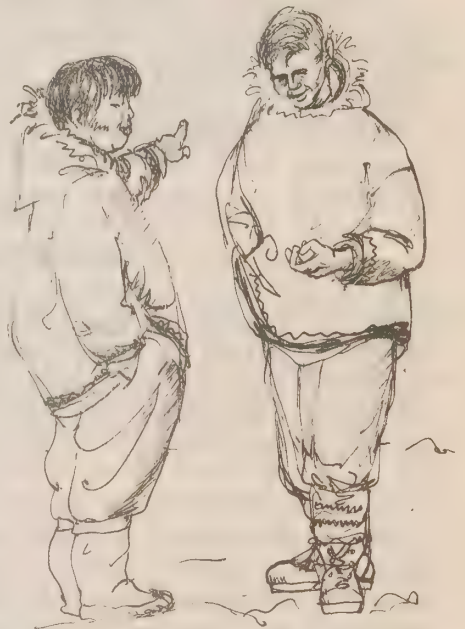
Although there may be disagreement among contemporary anthropologists as to the precise relationship of language to culture, it is generally agreed that it is an integral one, i.e. that language is part of the whole and functionally related to it. Language and linguistic patterns are a guide to social reality. The real world is to a considerable extent, built upon the language patterns of the group. In essence of course this does not mean that linguistic patterns inescapably limit sensory perception, but rather that they, like other cultural patterns, direct perception and patterns of thought into certain habitual channels. All of this implies too of course that language is far more than a mere tool for the communication of ideas and feelings and attitudes.

There is a corollary here which follows logically enough and which is very much related to any consideration of basic casework principles. The corollary states in effect that in order to thoroughly understand and appreciate a culture and the troubled human personalities within it, one must understand its linguistic patterns.

Whatever the social worker can learn of Eskimo linguistics and language patterns will certainly aid in and facilitate his understanding of the group as a group. We cannot dispute this. On the other hand, social work as a profession is not especially orientated towards the study of linguistics, nor does this fall within the range of its primary focus. Moreover, when social work talks about understanding the worker's self and the client's self, it does not mean total knowledge of these selves. Total knowledge is not possible for any of us at any time.

However true the corollary may be then in the rarified air of pure logic, social workers and social work will have to regard the Eskimo language as it does any other language, - that is, primarily as a means of communicating and understanding and appreciating ideas and feelings and attitudes, in the normal course of the casework process.

As a general principle, good interpreters as media of communication between worker and client can be used to advantage in the administration of the social insurances, for example, and in certain other areas of practice where the use of the strong casework relationship is not of primary importance. In dealing with more personal and complicated problems however, direct communication on a person-to-person basis is more essential. This is certainly true in a more particular way when applied to the Eskimo.



*m. Panegoshes*



Shortly after I first went into the North, a young Eskimo woman, by the name of Mage, came to me in a rather agitated frame of mind. She rattled out a story in Eskimo which, except for a few words, I was unable to understand. About all I could tell was that she was complaining about her husband. I also understood her to mention a pair of women's underwear. These threads of information puzzled me - and needless to say amused me unduly. The whole situation was very hopeless and the woman could sense this. Fortunately, Eskimos have a wonderful sense of humour and we both stopped and laughed hilariously. In spite of the ridiculous light that this put both of us in, this nevertheless was the beginning of the casework relationship with her.

When I had found some semblance of composure again I offered to bring in an interpreter, which I did, and the interview resumed. The only interpreter available in this case was a young Eskimo boy about the same age as Mage, who lived in the same community.

When the interpreter was introduced, Mage's whole attitude changed and the interview took on a stilted, cautious, ambiguous tone. She was able to tell me that her husband would not buy her a pair of underwear. I was ready to accept this as the "presenting problem", but she could not be drawn out and it was quite apparent that we had come to the end of the interview. For all intents and purposes she had withdrawn from further help.

Mage was not ready or able to talk about the personal relationship between her husband and herself in front of the interpreter. There were many reasons for this which I could only assume at the time, but which were confirmed through later experience. To have discussed her situation under the circumstances would have, in her estimation, made it public knowledge. She and her husband would have lost face in the Eskimo community.

When I finally got back to this case months later, after I had learned more of the language and did not use an interpreter, I was able to build up the relationship again. My command of the language was still not fluent at that time, but allowance was made for this. The "presenting problem" of course turned out to be just that, and it lead into a very complicated marital situation involving the tactful handling of traditional Eskimo feelings about sterility. Mage and her husband were childless. In the way of conclusion, I might add that before I left that community Mage and her husband were the proud adoptive parents of a baby girl.

In this case, direct communication and the use of the relationship was much more important because of the problems involved, the kind of "change" indicated for the client, and the necessity of eliciting and dealing with very personal material. A knowledge of the Eskimo language, sufficient at least to express oneself accurately and on a person-to-person basis, is essential for real effectiveness in situations like this. The use of interpreters here only tends to water down the "personal" quality of the relationship. Then too, the presence of the interpreter introduces a new factor into the relationship, the precise meaning of which is often difficult if not impossible to decipher. Most Eskimo

communities are very small, by southern standards, and their sociology is such that the interpreter and the client are bound together in a complex maze of other relationships within the group. We may think of the interpreter merely as a "voice", which does our talking for us, but this is often an over-simplification of the situation.

As far as the use of the relationship is concerned then I would say that:

in dealing with the Eskimo a working knowledge of his language is essential to real effectiveness in those situations requiring use of the strong relationship, because direct communication between worker and client in the interview situation controls and determines the quality of relationship.

This observation has general applicability to similar and nearly similar situations elsewhere although there may be a question of degree involved. I am thinking here for example of casework with new Canadians in the south.

#### SELF-DIRECTION AND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The Eskimo, characteristically, is a very pleasant individual anxious to avoid conflict, to conform and to co-operate. This is true of his relationships within the group, as well as with outsiders. Traditionally, his social-political-economic system was built upon a whole series of inter-dependent relationships, which were essentially "gemeinschaft" in quality. One has only to visit the Arctic, to view its emptiness and to sense the precariousness of all life within it, in order to understand how the physical environment in itself has conditioned him to develop these characteristics. Unfortunately, such traits are sometimes if not often interpreted by non-Eskimos as signs of personality weakness. One frequently hears it said that the Eskimo has no mind of his own and cannot make sound decisions. Indeed some non-Eskimos in the country really believe this. I would qualify this judgment almost endlessly. Certainly, he sometimes has difficulty making decisions about matters that lie outside the realm of personal and cultural experience. We are no different in this respect. Then too, the phenomenon of "choice", of choosing between various and equally attractive alternatives, was not a common one in the traditionally simple life of the land. He is still learning how to choose. In the "western" enculturation process that is sweeping across the Arctic to-day, the more "primitive" Eskimo is at a distinct disadvantage in the matter of decision-making, not only for the reason given above, but because he is often up against more aggressive individuals who do not always understand him or his situation, nor recognize his right to self-determination.





Let me go back for a moment to Kadluk, the man who left the life of the land for wage employment, and then thinking better of it, decided to return to the land. Kadluk made this decision after considerable reflection and soul searching. There is no doubt in my mind however but that I could have talked him out of this, or influenced him by one means or another to remain at Rankin Inlet. From our point of view, Kadluk's decision to trade the comforts of civilization for life on the land, a life that would mean privation and the possibility of starvation for himself and his family, may seem like sheer madness, an inability to make sound decisions, and a contradiction in human logic. When all the factors in this case are weighed and considered in their proper perspective however, this conclusion is not valid. Kadluk's decision was not really a contradiction in human logic, but in the logic of western man. He made his decision and it was the right one for him.

In the case of Manie and Timila the possibilities for interfering with the marriage before and after it took place were numerous and rather tempting to say the least. One is free to question the sanity of Manie's decision, in view of her lack of understanding of what she was getting into. However, one cannot question her right to make this decision, against what would seem to be her better judgment, and still uphold the principle of self-determination.

The same thing applies to Timila. The fact that he did not seem to understand what this marriage would do to Manie and himself and the group does not negate his right to go ahead with it, and to work out his own solutions to the problems which followed. If self-determination, as a right, is as basic as we believe it to be, then it applies to Timila and Kadluk and Manie just as it does in the case of you or me.

In brief then:

self-determination and self-direction as case-work principles apply with equal force on work with the Eskimo. It is easier

to appreciate this when the Eskimo and his problems are seen in their proper cultural perspective. The tendency among Eskimos to co-operate and to accept help in the matter of decision-making is more often related to factors of culture rather than to basic personality weakness.

### Summary

Social casework lays claim to a number of basic, generic principles which are adaptable to any work setting. The purpose of this commentary is to point up some of the main adaptation called for in casework with the Eskimo.

In this setting, self-awareness, as one of the basic concepts of casework, must be emphatically broadened to include the concept of the cultural self; because culture is a very significant part of all human behaviour and of the total human personality. This point has general applicability to similar casework settings elsewhere.

Acceptance and the non-judgmental attitude as applied to casework with the Eskimo mean that the worker often has to accept, without being condemnatory, attitudes and values and ways of behaving that are not only different from his own, but quite outside the realm of her own cultural experience and understanding. In addition, it means that he has to learn to understand and to cope with not just the usual hostility around self-change, but that which is peculiar to a group immersed in a situation of imposed cultural change.

The relationship and the personal interview are basic to the practice of casework. In fact it is these two elements that make casework what it is. Communication between worker and client is essential to building the relationship and this is normally done through the use of the spoken language in the interview situation. In this setting, a knowledge of the Eskimo language tends to build up confidence, the feeling of being understood, and the sense of confidentiality. This is particularly important where the use of the strong relationship is indicated. In more simple situations interpreters can be used to good advantage. This point also has general applicability to similar settings where language and cultural differences are important factors.

The tendency among Eskimos to co-operate and to accept help in the matter of decision-making is often more related to factors of culture rather than to basic personality weakness. Self-determination and self-direction as casework principles apply with equal force in working with the Eskimo. Again it is easier to appreciate this when one tries to see the Eskimo and his problems, and the problem-solving pattern of the group in their proper cultural perspective.

### Conclusion

There are only two logical conclusions that can be drawn from this entire discussion. First of all we must conclude that the basic principles of casework apply with equal force in work with the Eskimo, but certain adaptations have to be made. Secondly and finally, it is essentially the cultural factors in the background of worker and client that determine how the adaptations must be made.



## INUKTITUT

R.G.H. Williamson

A new voice for the cultural expression of the Eskimo people has long been needed, not only as a contribution to the culture of Canada but to bring together a group of people seriously affected by disrupting influences from the south.

The new Eskimo magazine, Inuktitut is intended to broaden Eskimo literary and artistic effort by the Eskimos and for the Eskimos. Most important of all to the character of the magazine, its literary and artistic contributors all are Eskimo and most of the editorial direction is as well. Miss Mary Panegoosho is the principal contributing editor.

This young lady from Ellesmere Island who is 20 years of age, has an exceptional feel for the scope and refinements of the Eskimo language. The mark of her mind and talents is clearly impressed upon the first two issues of the magazine.

The first issue, written in syllabics and mainly in a generalized Baffin Island dialect has a soft-toned cover, depicting an Eskimo woman, a baby on her back, walking against the background of tundra and hills with a water-bucket and dipper in one hand and leading a lively little boy with the other hand. A hectic photographic montage of personalities, places and events in the Eastern Arctic Patrol - begins the magazine. The cover and the montage are the work of Mary Panegoosho. There is an introduction explaining the purpose of "Inuktitut" and inviting articles, old stories, comment, opinion and pictorial art. There are photographic and word portraits of the editorial staff, a short illustrated article on the making of carvings with the carver's name, a children's page, items of news, an offer to assist with correspondence exchange with Greenlanders and a strikingly well illustrated article on Eskimo clothing across the Arctic. The main feature of this issue is a long article by Idlout of Resolute Bay about Greenland, which he visited last year as part of the Canadian good-will mission. A particularly worthwhile contribution is some traditional legends, sent in by Evalajuk of Igloolik.



After publication in the Baffin Island dialect, "Inuktitut" is recast in the Roman orthography for use in the Western Arctic. In time, it is hoped that the cumbersome syllabic system of writing in the Eastern Arctic will be replaced by a Roman orthography. This development

would give the Eskimo people one uniform, concise and recognizable form to their language and open to them the Eskimo literature of Greenland. It is possible that "Inuktitut" may fulfill an important role in this transition.

The interest shown in "Inuktitut" has been remarkable and the praise it has gained most heartening.



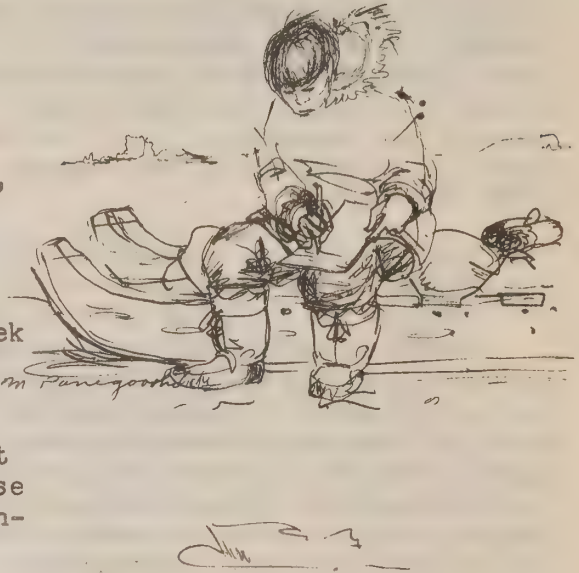
COLLECTION OF ESKIMO LETTERS

S. Tootoo

The translated selection of letters which follow provide a general idea of the type of letters received by the Welfare Division - around 40 - 50 a month.

For most Eskimo patients in hospitals, and for many who live in the more isolated areas of the north, a letter to the Department is still the only way of giving expression to needs and problems.

A few of the letters seem to seek nothing more than the reassurance of contact with the south. Many other letters, in a few simple sentences, tell the tragic tale of families rent apart by sickness and death. In these letters, it is possible to discern incredible feats of courage, patience and optimism as well as hopelessness and despair. In reading these letters, we read a story that in varying degrees has touched every Eskimo family.



An effort is made to treat each letter as if the Eskimo writer appeared personally in our office seeking help or advice. A letter could result in a hunt for a missing child - missing perhaps for two or three years somewhere in the labyrinth of hospitals or residential schools. A letter might result in an investigation of a welfare problem at a particular location. Each letter requires an acknowledgment.

The translation work, and many of the replies, are done by Eskimo staff members. This, however, is only part of their duties. In addition, they translate pamphlets and interpretive material into the Eskimo language, conduct Eskimo language classes for field staff and work as interpreters on hospital visits. Without Eskimo colleagues in the Welfare Division, much of the effectiveness of the work would be blunted.

From Pallikal:

Pallikal is writing. Thank you for giving me news. I am grateful that I have heard of my son. What is more, I want to hear of him again; so please write of him. It is gladdening, because I have heard that he is being well taken care of. My thanks to you and the doctors - having heard news from you, and because the doctors are taking good care (of my son). My very best regards to you. If you write once more,

I too shall write again. That's all. "Pallikal" - that is my name as the Eskimos say it.

From Akeego:

I am writing this letter to the man in charge. The reason that I am writing this letter is that I want some old lumber which no one else will use; so I can use it for housing. I am wondering if I can get some. They would send them by boat. They can be very useful for housing. I will be very pleased if they are willing to send it to me, some old lumber which will not be used. If they can be sent to us. My name is written like this Akeego. If they want me to pay for it and it's not too expensive, I would be very glad to do so, having saved my money. I am sending my best regards and wishes to the person who looks after this letter.

From Keutac:

Keutac is writing. I want to know about what you think and I want to tell you Isa wrote to me saying that he wants to come here to live in the high Arctic. If it's possible for him to come I would like to have him, and he also wants to come. Anyway I am writing this letter because I want to hear something about this. I want you to write and tell me about him. I got his two letters last winter saying that he is wanting to go to the high Arctic. If he can come here to live I will be very glad to have him. He also said in his letter that he was not too happy last winter at Ivugivik, because he finds it very difficult to get dog food and he has to trap and hunt. In this area there are lots of walrus and plenty of seals, and more foxes than Ivugivik - and lots of square flipper seals, lots of whales. He can get more dog food here than Ivugivik. It is good place to live. No wonder Isa is wanting to come. However I want to know more about what can be done? I write and tell you. Please you write and tell me. I am not in charge here but I'm just writing because of wanting to know about this and also for Isa who is at Ivugivik. That is all I have to say for now. Please write because I want to know. Goodbye.

From Nukadluk:

To the Welfare Division: Nukadluk, the mother of Akeeshook and Pitseolak is writing. Thank you very much for giving me proper news as to how my daughters are getting along. I have no questions to ask. I am merely thanking you. I am very happy because you wrote to me - what joy! I haven't anything to say; so I am not writing too much. I am only thanking you very much. If you want to write to me once more, you have only to write again - it is up to you. My very best regards to you. Goodbye.

From Etuk:

I am going to write because you wrote me a letter. Thank you very much that you let me know about my wife, my daughter and my mother. I am very grateful to you that you wrote an understandable letter. We are



at Coral Harbour now. I have been alone for two years now which means my wife has been away for two years. Also my mother is in the hospital for two years. I have one little daughter her name is Ookawa. My mother's name is Nootarloo and my wife's name Pudloo. I hope you understand what I'm writing. I am writing a short letter because I don't have much to write about. I just want to say thank you that you are letting me know about my daughter and that she will stay with her mother. Please write again when you want to write. I have been working at Coral Harbour. Also we used to make boats. Only thing is I want to see my wife very much and I want her to return home. However she will be home when she gets cured. I will wait until the doctors send her home. I will stop for now. I was very happy when I hear from you. Thanks again.

From Nagtugalik:

I am just writing. I am now at the Sanatorium since I was sent to the hospital in November, and I will be transferred at the end of the month, of November. My heart was very bad but now I am alright. I live now in Sugluk with my daughter and have been there for four months. I wrote to my daughter in Eskimo. My son died on July the first, by drowning. They tried to make him breathe by artificial respiration but he failed to breathe. So this is how I am going to give you my regards. It cannot be helped, now that I do not have a son, and also too bad that I am left alone in one house that my son bought, which is in Sugluk. Because I want to go home, I cannot wait any longer because I am all alone now, although I have been trying very hard to be calm for two weeks.

The white people, who are in my land, the nurses, are very pleasing, because they make me feel well. Although I try to stop thinking of my son, I am always thinking of him, because he was always full of gaiety while he was alive and was always listening to what you were saying. But this cannot be helped because God wants to save his soul. Now that his soul is saved, I am thinking about the time I took care of him when he was a child. Now that his soul is with God, I am thinking of seeing him if I am allowed to, through God. I am trying very hard to forget him but I have not forgotten him, so I am giving you my regards. My son left behind him for me, an oil stove because he did not want me to get cold while he was still alive and also he left me a house which he bought. I will try to keep the house as long as I can, which is at Sugluk. My daughter and I will be visiting Payne Bay next summer. I am giving you all my best regards and also Eskimo friends. Please write back to me. Nagtugalik: Sugluk is where I live.

From Ekalok:

Ekalok is writing. I am writing now as I want you to know of my thoughts about a person from Kivitoo. I have wanted him to come, going to Pond Inlet by boat thence arriving at Resolute Bay. He didn't arrive this summer, having got as far as Pond Inlet. So he didn't arrive. But

now I still want him to come. My wife needs a helper now, having had an operation. Because having started to work she gets tired, she doesn't feel well. Because my wife is home now I am very happy. This is the person I want to come, his name is Nanook, also his wife, Arloo, because she is our daughter. If they came, she could help her mother. I want them to come to our settlement. Because we here in our settlement are helped by the white men, we are grateful. Because there are not many people here in our settlement, we have never been hungry. When you get this letter please answer it right away. We are very pleased because we get the book in Eskimo "Inuktitut". I didn't write to you for a long time but I received your letter. Goodbye say hello to Mary and Annie for me. I am stopping now. Farewell.

From Amageealik:

I realized I haven't written for so long and you haven't either. Right now our land is icy and lots of snow. How are you? We are all fine.

Martee arrived from Pangnirtung this summer. I have so many more friends now and I'm much more happy.

They are building houses and they're almost finished. Myself, I am now working for the Air Force with Allie and Takiasuk. I plan to work for them all the time as it is much more interesting.

Again five white men came and they are trying to build houses during winter on the snow.

Time when there will be no sun is very close now. You have not written for so long, but I suppose you have lots of work to do. Do write anytime.

I am still thankful to you for your kindness when I was there last summer. I very much appreciate the kindness of those people in Ottawa.

Right now people are killing quite a few seals. And yesterday I went fishing by boat and caught just enough. There is quite a bit of fish off some parts where we are, it takes two days by boat to get to the place.

Of course too, our children are now going to school, they are much happier.

We have very nice land here even though there are more Eskimos on it. And it is alright with food like seal, whale, walrus, and polar bear. Only in summer it doesn't seem to have any polar bear.

My nephew Ootek is now going to stay in Igloolik and is now working for Hudson's Bay Company.



From Shikoak:

I shikoak am trying to write and we seem to be alright. I would like to know, I mean I'm planning to send my wife some money and would like to know how I should do it. And then if I send it just in money I think it would get lost. I just want to know if it would be wise to send it just like that. I am planning to send her \$100.00. There is no doubt that she gets food but because I think there is other things she needs. I have saved the money from carving since I been here. I was trying to save it to go home but I don't think money can get me home. I do want to go home but I'll just have to wait and I have never been told when. It seems so long and I'm anxious about home. Doctors are kind and that's no reason I want to go home, I just want to go home! I have written too much. Bye.







